

John Kaminiates: The Capture of Thessaloniki

Byzantina Australiensia

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John Kaminiates: The Capture of Thessaloniki

Translation, Introduction and Notes by

David Frendo
Athanasios Fotiou



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Εἰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀντιπόδων ἐπεξεργαστικώτερον θελήσειέ τις ζητῆσαι,
ῥαδίως τοὺς γράσδεις μύθους αὐτῶν ἀνακαλύψει.

Cosmas Indicopleustes, I,20.

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PREFACE

Thanks to the marvels of modern technology, collaboration between individuals living at very great distances apart has become a relatively easy matter. Unfortunately, however, collaboration at a distance is no more exempt than any other such activity from human frailty or from the often painful and always unforeseen vicissitudes that habitually beset the human condition. And so it has come about that the present work has required for its completion a much longer period of time than either collaborator had envisaged.

Although we have regularly subjected our work to mutual scrutiny and discussion throughout, we have also been careful to observe a fairly clear-cut division of labour. For practical purposes, this has meant that David Frendo assumed responsibility chiefly for the translation, for questions involving the authenticity and literary background of Kaminiates' account and for matters pertaining to the Arabs and to Islam, whereas Athanasios Fotiou wrote the bulk of the commentary and dealt exhaustively with military matters and with the topography and population of Thessaloniki and its hinterland.

Needless to say, we have become variously indebted in the course of this unduly protracted undertaking: in the first place, to Professor Elizabeth Jeffreys for valuable criticism and for much forbearance; to the archaeologists Sappho Tambaki and George Velenis; to Professors Alkmene Stravridou-Zafraka and Evangelos Chrysos; to the architect Ph. Oreopoulos for valuable and much appreciated assistance; and to Ms Olive O'Flaherty of the Department of Ancient Classics, University College, Cork, for long hours spent at the computer transforming an untidy and none too legible manuscript into the beauty and regularity of the printed page; and to John Melville-Jones, the editor appointed by the Australian Association for Byzantine Studies to prepare the text for publication in the series *Byzantina Australiensia*.

We should like also to thank Messrs. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin and New York, for their kind permission to print the Greek text of Gertrud Böhlig's critical edition *Ioannis Cameniatae de Expugnatione Thessalonicae* alongside the present translation. All references to the text are to the paragraphs of this edition.

Preface

For such inadequacies and imperfections as the attentive reader may discover we must, of course, take joint and several responsibility.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- | | |
|---|--|
| Aeneas | Aeneas, <i>Poliorcetica</i> (ed. C. Wescher, Paris 1867) |
| Ahrweiler, 1966 | H. Ahrweiler, <i>Byzance et la mer. La marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux viie-xve siècles</i> (Paris) |
| Ahrweiler, 1983 | -----, From the ninth century to 1204, in <i>Macedonia</i> , ed. M.B. Sakellariou (Athens) 272-79 |
| Ali, Maulana Muhammad, Maulana Muhammad Ali, <i>A Manual of Hadith</i> , 1978 | 3rd ed. (London) |
| Amantos, 1953 and 1957 | K. Amantos, <i>Ίστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους</i> , vol. 1 (395-867) and 2 (867-1204) (Athens) |
| Anagnostes, John | see Tsaras, 1958 |
| Antoniadis-Bibicou, 1966 | H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, <i>Études d'histoire maritime de Byzance. À propos du 'thème des Caraviens'</i> (Paris) |
| Bakalakis, 1963 | G. Bakalakis, <i>Therme-Thessaloniki, Antike Kunst Beiheft 1</i> , 30-34 |
| Bakalakis, 1966 | -----, Χωροταξική Μελέτη Θεσσαλονίκης άρ. 3, 'Ίστορία -' Αρχαιολογία (Thessaloniki) |
| Bakirtzis, 1975 | -----, 'Η θαλάσσια όχύρωση της Θεσσαλονίκης (Παρατηρήσεις καὶ προβλήματα), <i>Βυζαντινά</i> 7, 211-41 |
| Bakirtzis, 1983 | -----, Ρωμαϊκὸς λουτρὼν καὶ ἡ 'Αχειροποίητος τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης, in <i>Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη Στυλιανοῦ Πελεκανίδη</i> (Thessaloniki) 310-29 |
| Bakirtzis, 1985 | -----, '... βάρβαρον κλύδωνα βαρβάρων στόλων...', <i>Βυζαντινά</i> 13, 1053-58 |
| Beševliev, 1963 | V. Beševliev, <i>Die protobulgarische Inschriften</i> (Berlin) |
| Beševliev, 1980 | -----, <i>Die protobulgarische Periode der bulgarischen Geschichte</i> (Amsterdam) |
| Beševliev, 1985 | -----, Zur Deutung der protobulgarischen Inschrift von Vassilika, Chalkidike, <i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i> 35, 143-52 |
| Böhlig, 1973 | <i>Ioannis Caminiatae de Expugnatione Thessalonicae</i> ed. Gertrud Böhlig, CFHB vol. 4, Berlin |
| Böhlig, 1975 | <i>Die Einnahme Thessalonikes durch die Araber im Jahre 904. Übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt von G. Böhlig</i> , Graz-Wien-Köln (Byzantinische Gesichtschreiber 12) |

Abbreviations

Bonis, 1969	K. G. Bonis, <i>Die Slawenapostel Kyrillos und Methodios und die Basilika des heiligen Demetrios von Thessalonike</i> (Athens)
Book of the Eparch	Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ το Ἐπαρχικὸν Βιβλίον (ed. J. Nicole, Geneva 1893)
Bratianu, 1940	G. Bratianu, <i>Le commerce bulgare dans l'empire byzantin et le monopole de l'empereur Léon VI à Thessalonique</i> (Sofia)
Bréhier, 1949	L. Bréhier, <i>Les institutions de l'empire byzantin</i> (Paris, repr. 1970)
Browning, 1975	R. Browning, <i>Byzantium and Bulgaria. A Comparative Study Across the Early Mediaeval Frontier</i> (London)
Brunet, 1985	F. Brunet, Sur l'hellénisation des toponymes slaves en Macédoine byzantine, <i>Travaux et mémoires</i> 9, 235-65
Bury, 1912	J. B. Bury, <i>A History of the East Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I (A.D. 802 to A.D. 867)</i> (London)
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
Cantacuzenus	see Kantakouzenos
Cedrenus	see Kedrenos
CFHB	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</i>
Charanis, 1946	P. Charanis, Nicephorus I, the Saviour of Greece from the Slavs (810 A.D.), <i>Byzantina-Metabyzantina</i> 1, 75-92
Charanis, 1970	——, Observations on the History of Greece during the Early Middle Ages, <i>Balkan Studies</i> 11, 1-34
Charanis, 1970a	——, Kouver, the Chronology of his Activities and their Ethnic Effects on Regions around Thessalonica, <i>Balkan Studies</i> 11, 229-47
Charanis, 1976	——, The Slavs, Byzantium, and the Historical Significance of the First Bulgarian Kingdom, <i>Balkan Studies</i> 17, 5-24
Chatzidakis, 1983	M. Chatzidakis, From the sixth to the ninth century: Art from the mid-seventh to the tenth century, in <i>Macedonia</i> . ed. M.B. Sakellariou (Athens) 266-71
Chatzi Ioannou, 1880	M. Chatzi Ioannou, Ἀστυγραφία Θεσσαλονίκης ἢ τοι τοπογραφικὴ περιγραφή τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης (Thessaloniki, repr. Thessaloniki 1976 and Athens 1978)

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- Chionides, 1970 G. Chionides, *Ίστορία τῆς Βεροίας τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς περιοχῆς* 2 vols. (Thessaloniki)
- Christides, 1981 V. Christides, The Raids of the Moslems of Crete in the Aegean Sea. Piracy and Conquest, *Byzantion* 51, 76-111
- Christides, 1984 ----- *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs (ca 824). A Turning Point in the Struggle Between Byzantium and Islam* (Athens)
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- Christophilopoulou, 1983a -----, From the Sixth to the Ninth Century; Political history; from the sixth to the ninth century: Political, economic and social developments, in *Macedonia*, ed. M. B. Sakellariou (Athens) 250-58 and 258-63
- Chron. Pasch. *Chronicon Paschale* (ed. L. Dindorf, 2 vols., Bonn 1832)
- Chrysos, 1997 E. Chrysos, Slavonian Settlements and Byzantine Sovereignty in the Balkans, *Unpublished Paper*
- CJ *Codex Justinianus*, ed. P. Kruger, in *Corpus Juris Civilis*, vol. 2 (Berlin 1928, repr. 1954)
- Comnena, *see Komnene*
- Comp. Kon. *Computer-Konkordanz zum Novum Testamentum Graece von Nestle-Aland, 26. Auflage und zum Greek New Testament, 3rd Edition*, Berlin 1980
- Const. Porph, *de adm. Imp.* Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* (ed. G. Moravcsik, tr. R. J. H. Jenkins), Washington D.C., 1967
- Const. Porph., *de cer.* Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis* (ed. J. Reiske, Bonn 1829-30)
- Const. Porph., *de them.* Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De thematibus* (ed. A. Pertusi, Vatican City 1952)
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- Davidson, 1973 E. Davidson, *The Secret Weapon of Byzantium*, *BZ* 66, 61-74
- DChAE *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*
- Dennis, 1985 *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*. Text, translation and notes by George T. Dennis (CFHB vol. 25, Washington)
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- Dvornik, 1926a -----, *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IXe s.* (Paris)
- Dvornik, 1928 -----, Deux inscriptions gréco-Bulgares de Philippes, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 52, 125-47
- EEBE *ἑπετηρίς ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Ερευνῶν*
- Eustathios Eustathius, *De expugnatione Thessalonicae* (ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1842); English tr. by John R. Melville Jones, *Eustathios of Thessaloniki. The Capture of Thessaloniki*, *Byzantina Australiensia* 8 (Canberra 1988)
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- Feissel, 1987 D. Feissel, Bulletin épigraphique, *Revue des études grecques* 100, 360-61

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| Finlay, 1877 | G. Finlay, <i>A History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time</i> , vol. 2 (Oxford) |
| Forbes, 1959 | R. J. Forbes, <i>More Studies in Early Petroleum History</i> (Leiden) |
| Forbes, 1964 | -----, <i>Studies in Ancient Technology</i> , vol. 1 (Leiden) |
| Fountoukou, 1985 | M. Fountoukou, Παρατηρήσεις στὸ ἀμυντικὸ σύστημα τῶν τειχῶν τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης, in <i>Ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη</i> 1, 111-57 |
| Frendo, 1997 | Joseph D. C. Frendo, The 'Miracles of St. Demetrius' and the Capture of Thessaloniki. An Examination of the Purpose, Significance and Authenticity of John Kaminiates' <i>De Expugnatione Thessalonicae</i> , <i>Byzantinoslavica</i> 58, 205-24 |
| Gautier, 1964 | P. Gautier, Clément d'Ochrid, évêque de Dragvista, <i>Revue des études byzantines</i> 22, 199-214 |
| Georg. Cont. | Georgius Monachus, <i>Vitae imperatorum recentiorum in Theophanes Continuatus</i> (ed. C. de Boor, Bonn 1838) |
| Gounaris 1971 | Παρατηρήσεις τινὲς ἐπὶ τῆς χρονολογίας τῶν τειχῶν τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης, <i>Μακεδονικά</i> 11, 311-23 |
| Gounaris, 1976 | G. Gounaris, <i>Τὰ τείχη της Θεσσαλονίκης</i> (Thessaloniki) |
| Graebner, 1975 | M. D. Graebner, <i>The Rôle of the Slavs within the Byzantine Empire, 500-1018</i> , Ph.D. Thesis (New Brunswick, NJ) |
| GRBS | <i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i> |
| Grégoire, 1952 | H. Grégoire, Le communiqué arabe sur la prise de Thessalonique (904), <i>Byzantion</i> 22, 373-78 |
| Grigoriou-Ioannidou, 1981 | M. Grigoriou-Ioannidou, Τὸ ἐπεισόδιο τοῦ Κουβέρ στα ῥαύματα τοῦ ῥαγίου Δημητρίου, <i>Βυζαντικά</i> 1, 69-87 |
| Grigoriou-Ioannidou, 1982 | -----, ῥΗ ἐκστρατεία τοῦ ῥΙουστινιανοῦ Β΄ κατὰ τῶν Βουλγάρων καὶ Σλάβων (688), <i>Βυζαντικά</i> 2, 113-24 |
| Grigoriou-Ioannidou, 1989 | -----, Οἱ Βυζαντινὲς κλεισούρες καὶ κλεισουρ-αρχίες, <i>Βυζαντικά</i> 9, 181-202 |
| Haldon, 1977 | J. Haldon and M. Byrne, A Possible Solution to the Problem of Greek Fire, <i>BZ</i> 70, 91-99 |
| Herodian | Herodianus, <i>Ab excessu divi Marci libri octo</i> (ed. K. Stavenhagen, Leipzig 1922) |

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| Herrin, 1973 | J. Herrin, Aspects of the Process of Hellenization in the Early Middle Ages, <i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i> 68, 113-26 |
| Herrin, 1987 | -----, <i>The Formation of Christendom</i> (Princeton NJ) |
| Heyd, 1885 | W. Heyd, <i>Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge</i> (Leipzig) |
| Hime, 1915 | H. W. L. Hime, <i>The Origin of Artillery</i> (London) |
| Hunger, 1978 | H. Hunger, <i>Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner</i> , 2 vols. (= Hdb. d. Altertumswiss. 12.5. 1-2, Munich) |
| Irmscher, 1995 | J. Irmischer, 'Η Μακεδονία στὴν ἐποχὴ τοῦ 'Ιουστινιανου, <i>Βυζαντινὴ Μακεδονία</i> (Thessaloniki), 137-42 |
| Ivir. | <i>Actes de l'Iviron</i> (ed. J. Lefort, 2 vols., Paris) |
| Jaffé, 1851 | Ph. Jaffé, <i>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab ecclesia condita ad annum post Christum natum 1198</i> (Berlin) |
| Jenkins, 1948 | R. J. H. Jenkins, The Flight of Samonas, <i>Speculum</i> 23, 217-35 |
| Jireček, 1877 | C. Jireček, <i>Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Konstantinopel und die Balkanpässe</i> (Prague) |
| John of Ephesus | <i>Johannis Ephesii Historiae Ecclesiasticae pars tertia</i> (ed. E.W. Brooks, Louvain 1952) |
| Jones, 1964 | A. H. M. Jones, <i>The Later Roman Empire 284-602</i> (Oxford) |
| Julius Africanus | Sextus Julius Africanus, <i>Kestoi in The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> , (ed. B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, vol. 3 no. 142, 39ff. London 1903) |
| Kantakouzenos | I. Cantacuzenus, <i>Historia</i> (ed. L. Schopen, 3 vols., Bonn 1828-32) |
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| Karayannopoulos, 1983 | -----, From the Ninth Century to 1204: Political history, in <i>Macedonia</i> , ed. M. B. Sakellariou (Athens) 279-88 |
| Karayannopoulos, 1984 | I. Karayannopoulos, Η ἐπικοινωνία Θεσσαλονίκης-Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατὰ τοὺς 7.-9. αἰ., <i>Επιστ. Επετ. Φιλολ. Σχ. Αριστ. Πανεπ. Θεσσαλονίκης</i> 22, 213-29 |
| Karayannopoulos, 1989 | -----, Η πρωτοβουλγαρική επιγραφή του <i>Direkler</i> , <i>Εγκατία, Επιστ. Επ. Τμ Ιστ. και Αρχαιολ. Φιλολ. Σχ Αριστ. Πανεπ. Θεσσαλονίκης</i> 1, 219-57 and pls. 429-43 |

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- Karayannopoulos, 1991 -----, Οι Βυζαντινο-Βουλγαρικές συγκρούσεις επί Συμεών, *Βυζαντιακά* 11, 25-46
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- Komnene, Alex. Anne Comnène, *Alexiade* 1-3 (ed. B. Leib, Paris 1937-45)
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- Leo Choerosphactes Léon Choerosphactes, ed. and tr. G. Kolias (Athens 1939)
- Leo, *Tact.* *Leonis VI imperatoris tacticae constitutiones* (PG 107, 669-1094)
- Leo Gramm. Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, (ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1842)
- Le Quien, 1740 M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, vols.1-3 (Paris)
- Liakos, 1971 S. Liakos, *Τὶ πράγματι ἦσαν οἱ Σκλαβῆνοι (Asseclae) ἔποικοι τοῦ θέματος Θεσσαλονίκης (Δρουγοῦνται-Ψυχῖνοι-Σαγουνδαται)* (Thessaloniki)
- Life of St. Elias* *Vita di Sant'Elia il Giovane*, ed. and tr. G. Rossi Taibbi (Palermo 1962)
- Life of St. Euthymius* *Vita S. Euthymii*, ed. and tr. P. Karlin-Hayter, *Byzantion* 25-27 (1955-57) 1-172
- Life of St. Gregory* See Dvornik, 1926
- Life of St. Theodora* *Life of St. Theodora of Thessalonike in Holy Women of Byzantium* (ed. A.-M. Talbot, Washington D.C. 1996), 164-237
- LSJ H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th edn., rev. H. Stuart Jones and R. McKenzie (with Revised Supplement, Oxford 1996)
- LXX *Septuaginta* (ed. Alfred Rahlfs) Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, Stuttgart 1935, repr. 1982 (whereas all references to the Greek are to the text of this edition, the English translations offered are taken almost invariably from the Authorized Version. It should be noted, moreover, that similar use has been made throughout of *The Greek New Testament* (3rd corrected edition), United Bible Societies, Stuttgart 1983)
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PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols. (Paris 1857-66)
P.G.L.	<i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> , ed. G. W. H. Lampe (Oxford 1961)
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Zonaras	I. Zonaras, <i>Epitome historiarum</i> (ed. L. Dindorf, Leipzig 1868-75)
Zosimos	Zosimus, <i>Nea Historia</i> (ed. F. Paschoud, Paris 1971-76)
ZRVI	<i>Zbornik Radova Vizantinoloskog Instituta</i>

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION - PART ONE

John Kaminiates and his correspondent

Until relatively recent times the only articulate form of long-distance communication available to human beings consisted of the passing of messages, whether oral or written, through the agency of a third party or messenger. When such messages are exchanged in written form, their content, in addition to being primarily though not always exclusively of concern to the two parties performing the interchangeable rôle of addressor and addressee, may or may not be known to or knowable by the messenger. Moreover, the purpose of such messages may be the exchange of news or information and thus, in point of time, may refer equally to what is now either past or in the realm of a permanent present of indefinite duration. On the other hand, such messages may just as well be directed towards the making of plans, arrangements or transactions or even to the expression of fears, hopes or aspirations and thus relate, from the point of view of the time of writing, to the future. Such correspondence may be abortive, i.e. one-sided, isolated, sporadic or regular. It is usual, though not essential, that addressor and addressee should have met at least once. The only essential prerequisite is in fact some external stimulus to the act of communication.

The foregoing observations have been offered in an attempt to produce a reasonably comprehensive definition of what constitutes a real letter. The need for such a definition arises from the fact that Kaminiates' account of the capture of Thessaloniki and its aftermath is contained in what purports to be a real letter. Consequently, we must now turn our attention to the question of precisely what kind of real letter Kaminiates has written, to whom he has written it and for what purpose.

In order to answer that question it will be necessary to reconstruct from the internal evidence of Kaminiates' text (no other evidence is available to us) what, though it reflects the circumstances of a more general catastrophe, is a highly personal sequence of events, which begins approximately two months after the capture of the city of Thessaloniki.

Some time after but not a great deal later than the arrival in Tripoli, on the 14th of September 904, of those captives from Thessaloniki who

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had survived the sack of the city and had endured the rigours of a long voyage in appalling conditions of over-crowding, malnourishment and disease, Kaminiates and his family had a chance encounter with a certain Gregory of Kappadokia. This man belonged to a group of Kappadokian prisoners who happened at the time to be passing through Tripoli on their way to Antioch. Gregory, for whose existence and identity Kaminiates is our only informant, was moved to compassion by the traumatized appearance of Kaminiates and his family, and in order to commiserate with them and, perhaps, to console them, told them a little about his own plight but was apparently too discreet to question them about theirs (for which last point *cf.* §2.1-2).

Perhaps about two weeks later, Kaminiates received a letter from Gregory. Such a date for the receipt of Gregory's letter is suggested by the fact that Kaminiates says in his reply to Gregory (§3.2) that since a time not long after their meeting he had been collecting information about Thessaloniki. Now, given the one-sided nature of the brief exchange that took place on that occasion, it seems not unreasonable to conclude that the event that prompted such activity on Kaminiates' part must have been the receipt of Gregory's letter with its explicit request for just such information (*cf.* §2.1; §3.7; §7.2). One might perhaps wonder how, with any hope of its ever reaching its destined recipient, Gregory could contrive to send a letter to a prisoner in Tripoli of whose personal details he had no knowledge. It is clear, however, that Kaminiates belonged to a small and select category of mature adults (his age has been estimated at between thirty and thirty-five, *cf.* Böhlig 1973, IX) who were of some social importance, and must have stood out among the vast, amorphous crowd of youngsters, of whom the writer reports much later in his account that 'there was not a single boy who had grown his first beard, nor, in all those thousands, was there even one woman of mature years' (§47.2-3 and *cf.* §61.4).

Gregory of Kappadokia's request for information about Kaminiates and his family, as summarized by Kaminiates in his reply, ranges from the most basic to the most detailed and comprehensive: 'You sought to learn through your letter the way in which it had come about that we dwell in captivity, having been delivered into the hands of barbarians, how we exchanged a foreign land for our own country, where we hail from and what sort of place it is. For you said that you guessed from our brief association during the short time that we spent together when you were passing through Tripoli that we had a long tale to tell, that dire

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calamities beyond the level of any tragedy had overtaken us and that others no less dire probably lay ahead' (§2.1-2).

Despite initial protestations of a formal and conventional character to the effect that the task which Gregory wishes to impose upon him is beyond his limited intellectual powers, Kaminiates was easily prevailed upon, and resolved to fulfil Gregory's request as comprehensively as he could (*cf.* §1.4-6 and §2.5-6). The result is a very remarkable letter, which reflects faithfully the distribution of interest and subject-matter suggested by Gregory's request.

Soon after the receipt of Gregory's letter (§78.7), Kaminiates and his fellow detainees were put on ship and despatched to Tarsos to await the eventual outcome of an exchange of prisoners. Since the exchange began on the 27th September 905, and continued for only four days owing to a breakdown in negotiations (Vasiliev 1968, II, 1, especially 182-83), the letter must have left Tarsos - in all probability without Kaminiates (*cf.* §78.8) - by the end of September 905. Thus we have a period of time stretching from mid-October 904 to the end of September 905, during which Kaminiates must have composed his 'letter'. Most of that time was spent in confinement at Tarsos, in the company of a number of prominent individuals, among whom were the generals Leo Chitzilakes and Niketas (*cf.* §62.1).

It might prove helpful at this point to set out in tabular form the sequence of events relating to Kaminiates and Gregory of Kappadokia as they have been reconstructed so far. All but the last have been dated on the basis of information extracted from Kaminiates' text:

14 September 904	Arrival of Kaminiates at Tripoli (<i>cf.</i> §77.2).
Late September 904	Chance encounter between Kaminiates and Gregory of Kappadokia.
Probably before end of September 904	Arrival in Antioch of Gregory of Kappadokia.
Mid to late October 904	Receipt of Gregory's letter. <i>Terminus post quem</i> for start of Kaminiates' work.
Late October - early November 904	Arrival of Kaminiates in Tarsos (before the end of the sailing season).
27-30 September 905	<i>Terminus ante quem</i> for completion of Kaminiates' work.

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But to return to Kaminiates in Tarsos, where most of his writing must have been done, a number of important details having a direct bearing on the physical and spiritual conditions with which he had to cope at the time of writing are recoverable from his text; they should not be overlooked in any serious study of his work.

Kaminiates began writing very shortly after the death of his father. His sense of grief at his loss, and his desolation at the prospect confronting him is rendered almost palpable by the dignity and restraint with which, towards the end of his letter, he communicates in retrospect the news of this unhappy event (§78.7): 'Yet, even after our long ordeal, we fared no better in Tripoli during the time we spent there; indeed, from my own point of view, we fared considerably worse since it was there that I lost my dear father (and finding myself without him was like the start of a fresh round of disasters)'.

How he felt at the time can only be surmised, but we would do well to remind ourselves that he had already by this time learned of the death at sea of one of his three children, and had witnessed the selling into slavery of his brother's wife on the island of Crete. He had also been separated from the start from his mother, a brother and sister and his own wife and children, though he had at least the consolation of knowing that they had so far escaped slavery and were, with one exception, still alive (§73.9-11). Finally there was the anything but distant memory of the massacre and appalling acts of cruelty, both random and calculated, that had attended the capture of Thessaloniki.

This remarkable circumstantial picture is completed by the concluding remarks of the narrative proper, just before the letter itself is brought to a close: 'And now we are at the crossroads between two expected outcomes: either we obtain our long-discussed release through the arrangement for the safe exchange of prisoners or we succumb to death, which stalks us daily in the form of frequent illnesses and is in various other ways a constant companion of those who are in prison. Only, we have no way of telling which of these we shall encounter first' (§78.8-9).

As for Gregory of Kappadokia, although Kaminiates repeatedly stresses that he is writing as a result of their chance encounter in Tripoli and in response to Gregory's insistent request for information which was contained in the letter that followed that encounter, we learn little else about the man. Even when due allowance has been made for the rhetorical convention of professed inadequacy and a feigned reluctance to take up a specific literary task, it is plain from the general tone of the

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socially deferential Kaminiates' opening remarks that he is conscious of addressing a person of superior culture and status. The general impression is also conveyed (though it is never explicitly stated that such is the case) that Gregory too is a member of the clergy. This impression is partly confirmed by Kaminiates' reference to the sin of disobedience (§1.5), which is made in the context of a contemplated refusal to comply with Gregory's request for information and by the request for prayers in return for having fulfilled his correspondent's demands both honestly and to the best of his ability, which he makes at the end of his letter to Gregory (§78.4). It is perhaps worth our noting that Kaminiates' father, when he was mistaken for the bishop of Thessaloniki, answered that he was not the bishop, but one who stood in need of the bishop's prayers (§55.4). For Kaminiates' use of the plural here, cf. Lemerle, 1979, 40, n. 32 *bis*. Of course, there is no theological reason why a priest should not ask a layman to pray for him, but in practice the pattern of social behaviour in traditional Christian societies tends to operate in the reverse direction.

Moreover, the phrase τῶν παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς αἰτηθέντων is used by Kaminiates with reference to Gregory (§10.5) and ἡ σὴ ἀρετή, 'your worship/reverence' is also a form of address which is commonly applied to clerics.

The Literary Composition of Kaminiates' Work

What little can be gathered of the social background of the otherwise unknown Kaminiates must be deduced from a few brief references contained in his work. This background (to the extent that it can be reconstructed from this limited information) provides us with an important individual constant, which needs to be considered along with the many variables that converged to make a writer of Kaminiates and to dictate the peculiar conditions under which he was obliged to write.

That John Kaminiates belonged to a relatively well-to-do clerical family is clear from what is related in chapter 55 concerning his own and his father's occupation and from the fact that they must have been in a position to collect and conceal sufficient wealth to enable them to purchase their own lives and secure exemption from the general massacre that followed the capture of the city (§54.1-2). Kaminiates himself, though belonging to the relatively low-ranking clerical grade of *anagnostes*, appears to have held the special position of Chamberlain in the bishop's household, a post which must have been both financially rewarding and status-enhancing.

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Given such a background it is perhaps not surprising that Kaminiates should display a thorough grasp of the rudiments of rhetorical composition. Moreover, that he personally laid great store by such accomplishments is evidenced by the obvious pride with which he claims that his father was 'much practised in the art of eloquence' (πολλὴν περὶ τὸ λέγειν ἐπιστήμην ἐξησκημένος, §32.11). He even backs up this assertion, which he makes at what is an extremely tense and dramatic moment in the narrative, by quoting what purports to be an impromptu speech uttered at just this precise moment in time by his father. The latter begins by lamenting the prospect of his own and his sons' untimely death, which he envisages as occurring in a rapid succession from the youngest to the eldest in a way that in its order of occurrence, as well as in its brutality, will subvert both the course of nature and the laws of humanity. The speech, which is over a page in length (§43.5-§44.9), is replete with antitheses and with the usual *topoi* associated with such occasions. Yet it is perhaps not without significance that towards the end of the speech a transition is effected from mundane preoccupations clothed in the language of secular rhetoric to an impassioned consideration of the wholly beneficent nature of God's providence, the infallibility of His justice and of the need to endure with fortitude whatever is sent by way of punishment for sin and to persevere in the way of suffering for the sake of one's faith in order to reach out beyond death to the hope of final beatitude. Appropriately enough, this part of the speech is allusively replete with echoes of New Testament phraseology culled from the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles.

Elsewhere and no less importantly, when Kaminiates lists the natural advantages and achievements of his native city, he specifically mentions its proud reputation for eloquence, emphasising the zealous pursuit by the young of the arts of eloquence and of polite letters (§10.1-3).

Kaminiates' extended description of Thessaloniki and its environs (§3.2-§11.5) is of especial interest. It illustrates the interaction of his cultural formation with the peculiar historical circumstances in which he wrote. It is true that this description contains rhetorical elements which occur in their most highly developed and specialized form in the genres of ekphrasis and panegyric. It is true also, as has been pointed out (Hunger 1978, 171) that topographical ekphrasis was very closely associated with panegyric throughout the Byzantine period. What Kaminiates wrote, however, was neither formal ekphrasis, nor panegyric; it was something which was a great deal simpler but at the same time a great deal more complicated: stylistically simpler, but conceptually more complex.

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Very early in his letter to Gregory, Kaminiates informs him that he has been collecting material about Thessaloniki since not long after their meeting (§3.2). Such material can only have been gathered orally through conversations with his fellow prisoners. The detailed, composite picture thus pieced together would have added variety and vigour and perhaps greater naturalness to the process of solitary recollection which must have taken place before the whole was subjected to the writer's powers of organization and skill in rhetorical exposition. By and large, the result is remarkably fresh, detailed and vivid. On closer inspection, however, the extended description of Thessaloniki turns out to be much more than the mere supplying of information in answer to the enquiries of a sympathetically involved correspondent. It effects a transition (first in summary form in §3, then on a much larger scale in §§4-11) from the material to the spiritual. This transition is followed immediately by four paragraphs (§§12-15) of collective self-condemnation, which serve to introduce and reveal that edifying and didactic perspective which, although barely hinted at in his opening words to Gregory (§1.3), will inform the entire narrative account that follows. It also introduces a problem which is to haunt the writer throughout: that of the abandonment of the city by its patron and protector St. Demetrios. His solution is to imagine that St. Demetrios received from God in answer to his entreaties on behalf of the citizens of Thessaloniki the same reply as had the prophet Jeremiah when interceding on behalf of the people of Israel: *offer no prayer for this people; for I will not listen to you* (§22.12). Yet such a solution fails to satisfy the writer, who just one chapter earlier had conceded that the abandonment of the city by the majority of its population through a recourse to flight into the interior of the country before the arrival of the enemy fleet might have been preferable to what actually happened (§21.3-5). Elsewhere (§38.5-7), he has great difficulty in reconciling himself to the spectacle of undeserved suffering. This problem continues to haunt him and he continues to hold up himself and his fellow victims as an object lesson for posterity.

Finally, if the narrative portions of Kaminiates' text strike us as remarkably vivid and realistic, that too may have its explanation and remote origin in the conversational exchanges of prisoners recounting their individual experiences, one of whose number was, of course, Kaminiates himself. But Kaminiates turned also to recording these experiences in a more private and a more disciplined and, as it so happened, a more permanent form.

The Problem of the Literary Metamorphosis of Kaminiates' Work.

There are five basic assumptions which underlie the approach which so far has been consistently applied throughout the present discussion. These assumptions may conveniently be subsumed into the three categories of authorship, subject-matter and intention, and may be expressed as follows. In the first place, it should be accepted that Kaminiates' work is authentic. Secondly, it should also be accepted that it deals with real events, real places and real persons. Finally, it may be agreed that it was originally conceived as a private communication between two named individuals playing the rôles of addressor and addressee. Now, it is precisely the need to maintain consistency which generates the problem of the literary metamorphosis of Kaminiates' work. Different approaches, if consistently applied, will generate different problems and require correspondingly different solutions. The problem that concerns us here, however, is how best to answer the following question: how and in what circumstances did a private letter form one obscure individual to another come into the public domain?

That question can only be answered by combining historically informed conjecture with reasonable inference based on known facts, to the extent, of course, that these can be ascertained. As far as the exchange of prisoners is concerned, all the indications are that Kaminiates did not leave Tarsos together with those prisoners who were released before negotiations were suspended at the end of September 905. Although completed close in time to when the exchange of prisoners actually took place, his letter ends, in fact, with an appeal to Gregory to 'be so kind as to repay our endeavour with your prayers and prevail upon our Common Master either to avert disaster from us or, or provided that we bear it all with fortitude, to reward our patience on the day of His righteous judgement'.

That Kaminiates' letter left Tarsos, however, is certain. It is also the case that the generals Leo Chitzilakes and Niketas were both fellow prisoners with him in Tarsos. Moreover, given the importance of both men, the chances are that they were among the first wave of prisoners released before the suspension of negotiations. In the case of Leo Chitzilakes the evidence of an inscription which was found on a stone that formed the lintel of a gate at Constantine's Harbour, (*cf.* note 51) and refers to repairs made during the office of Leo Chitzilakes, the 'royal *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Thessaloniki', makes a very strong probability into a virtual certainty, if we accept Vasiliev's suggestion that

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the reference is to later and more thorough-going repairs made to the city's defences by a successfully ransomed and officially reinstated Leo Chitzilakes. The alternative explanation, that the inscription refers to the hopelessly incomplete building operations conducted by Leo before the arrival of the enemy fleet and before his own crippling accident (when he was thrown from his horse at his first meeting with his newly-arrived assistant Niketas, for which cf. §18.5-11), is preposterous. Why, after the capture of Thessaloniki, should anyone wish to commemorate what had turned out to be a disastrous failure? It is scarcely conceivable, on the other hand, that in the short time before the arrival of the enemy Leo Chitzilakes, confined to bed and racked with pain, or indeed anyone who was in his right mind, could have issued orders to commemorate an enterprise not yet even half-completed, in a city threatened with imminent destruction (§18.6).

But to return to Kaminiates' letter, might not Leo Chitzilakes have undertaken to see to its safe dispatch? If so, he would have found in that very same letter a glowing account of the conduct of the defence of Thessaloniki by himself, and by his assistant Leo and the imperial envoy Petronas. This account, in fact, exonerates all three men of any responsibility for the fall of the city. But just how eulogistic Kaminiates' treatment of the subject is has never been remarked. Petronas, if we are to believe Kaminiates, was nothing less than a military genius (§17.2-8). His successor, Leo Chitzilakes, did not obstruct or put an end to the brilliant strategy bequeathed him; he merely called 'a temporary halt to the work on the fence' (§18.3) in order to set about another very urgent task. Then, of course, he suffered that dreadful accident, after which he displayed the most heroic fortitude imaginable (§27.8). As for Niketas, 'he held the rank of strategos and possessed the resolute and disciplined character appropriate to his rank' (§19.2) and subsequently 'when, after the strategos' injury, all responsibility for our welfare devolved upon Niketas, he too played his part to the best of his ability (§20.1).'

In the circumstances, then, Leo Chitzilakes and his associates can hardly have failed to appreciate the value of divulging the contents of Kaminiates' letter. But although its political usefulness to the parties concerned may well have been what first brought this letter into the public domain, the writer's pious resignation, his deep devotion to St. Demetrios through thick and thin, and his constant drawing of moral lessons from his own plight and that of his fellow victims, must have done much to recommend his work to future generations, and to facilitate its survival.

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Since the aim of the present discussion has been to maintain consistency at all costs, it might prove useful at this point to consider briefly to what conclusions the abandonment of consistency and the pursuit of procedures that are methodologically unsound can lead us.

Presenting his conclusion first, and then sketching in very erratically the arguments on which these are based, Giannis Tsaras claims that Gregory of Kappadokia was not a real person, but a conscious and transparent literary device intended to signify the general reader (Tsaras, 1987, 27-28 and especially note 17). He even terms this device a 'Byzantine figure of speech'. Tsaras also stresses that Kaminiates was concerned that 'future generations - whether natives of Thessaloniki or strangers - should never forget the tragedy of his native city'. But it is hard to see why, even in tenth-century Byzantium, casting a true account in pseudo-epistolary form should ensure its survival for posterity. Moreover, since the purely literary figure of the Kappadokian (as opposed to the real live Kappadokians, who were not only numerous in the tenth century but inhabited an area which was the scene of frequent and intense border fighting, cf. e.g. Dennis 1985, 148, lines 31-37) insofar as it is attested in the extant literature from classical times onwards, is synonymous with credulity, boorish ignorance and stupidity, it is even harder to imagine a more inappropriate way of seeking to establish a *rapport* with the reader. That would indeed be a novel form of *captatio benevolentiae*! Tsaras' argument, on the other hand, seems to run as follows: he begins by objecting to Böhlig's description of Kaminiates' account as 'a work made to order' (cf. Böhlig 1975, 8, 'Der Bericht des Johannes Kaminiates ist eine bestellte Arbeit').

Without suggesting an alternative definition, however, he concludes that the degree of spontaneity, emotional involvement and sheer agitation shown on occasion by Kaminiates is incompatible with writing to order. In other words, he has accepted Böhlig's definition and indeed tacitly redefined it in order to establish an incompatibility on the strength of which he feels empowered to reject the existence of a real correspondent called Gregory of Kappadokia and to reduce his rôle to that of a literary device. But this rejection has been achieved on the basis of an artificially induced contradiction set up at two removes from the reality of Kaminiates' text. There we read a very different story. Gregory's letter contained a request not an order. The only recompense that Kaminiates sought from Gregory when he had completed his account was to be remembered in his prayers. The initial suggestion did indeed come from Gregory but the forces that inclined Kaminiates to comply were of an

inner and private nature. Such glimpses as Kaminiates' account affords us into the writer's state of mind suggest the possibility that he was torn between the painful nature of his memories and the need to divest himself of them. After his father's death, immersion in his self-imposed task may have given a sense of purpose to an increasingly bleak and meaningless existence. Many other scenarios might, of course, be conjectured on the basis of what Kaminiates has to say, but not one of them could possibly include the stultifying client-patron relationship presupposed by a work written solely to curry favour or for financial gain and no other situation could generate the contradiction which Tsaras believes to have detected. But if Tsaras, for reasons of his own that are not entirely clear, attempted to fictionalize an important aspect of Kaminiates' writing, the attempt had already been made some years earlier to effect a much more radical transformation of Kaminiates, his correspondent and his work.

The Hypothesis of Fifteenth-Century Authorship

In 1978 the distinguished Byzantinist A.P. Kazhdan published an article (Kazhdan 1978, 301-314) which directly challenged the authenticity of Kaminiates' work and in consequence undermined the historical value of its contents. He listed no fewer than twenty-two reasons which disposed him to adopt a position which was generally sceptical although it was far from clearly defined.

Kazhdan's objections impress more by their number than by their weight. They fall roughly into two broad categories, literary and historical, and will be considered briefly and selectively in that order.

Since Kaminiates is the otherwise unknown writer of a single work and since Byzantine prose literature, though it embraces different levels of style, displays no continuous line of stylistic development or linguistic evolution, stylistic criteria are unlikely to throw much light on the present question. What, therefore is one to make of the following statement: '... it is necessary to underline that ἄρτος is a rare word in Byzantine prose, which goes back to the Anthology' (Kazhdan 1978, 309)? In the first place, Kazhdan's reference ought to be not simply to the word ἄρτος but more specifically to the phrase τρύφος ἄρτου in Kaminiates (p. 58, line 19), which does not 'go back to the Anthology' but appears, according to the entry in *LS-J* s.v. τρύφος, to be attested elsewhere only in a poem by Apollinides, an epigrammatist of the first century A.D. (*Anthology*, VI, 105). In the present state of our knowledge it would be rash to see any particular significance in the lack of any further examples of this phrase.

We do know, however, that at least two other equivalent phrases were both in existence at the very latest by the fifth century A.D. (and therefore available to Kaminiates), because in LXX, Judges 19.5, the Codex Alexandrinus has the expression κλάσμα ἄρτου, whereas the Codex Vaticanus reads ψωμός ἄρτου. Now the second expression would have been ruled out for Kaminiates because of the semantic change undergone by the word ψωμός in vulgar Greek, where it had displaced ἄρτος (cf. Thumb 1901, 95. The suggestion made there that the liturgical use of the classical word gave a further impetus to the spread of the popular word may well be true, but it does not appear to have produced any distinction reflected in the literary language as it has come down to us). The choice between the two remaining phrases (and perhaps such others as were also available, for which cf. *The Revised Supplement to LS-J s.v. θρύμμα*, which quotes Hesychios' θρύμματα κλάσματα ἄρτου) would doubtless have been made on individual stylistic grounds, though it would be safer not even to hazard a guess at what these actually were. As for ἄρτος being 'a rare word' in that somewhat chimerical entity 'Byzantine prose', it is attested in Theophanes (p. 234, lines 23 and 24) and in an anonymous tenth-century military treatise (cf. Dennis 1985, 164, line 13). Moreover, the word is extremely common in the Septuagint and there are ninety-seven different occurrences of it in the New Testament (cf. Comp. Kon. p. 224), including the Lord's Prayer, where it certainly has everyday as well as liturgical and possible other-worldly connotations.

Kazhdan's more general literary objections arise from his insistence on viewing Kaminiates' work *prescriptively* in terms of a continuous history of Byzantine literature based principally on distinctions of genre (cf. Kazhdan 1978, 304-309 *passim*). Consequently, he is greatly disturbed by the fact that 'the <<Capture of Thessalonica>> appears to be a unique work among the creations of the Byzantine literature of the 9th-10th centuries' (*ibid.*, 304). Yet, if the view of the nature of Kaminiates' work, and of the circumstances of its composition, which has been argued here is accepted, none of these objections are any longer relevant.

On the other hand, if even a single glaring and clear-cut anachronism could be found embedded in Kaminiates' text and forming an essential part of it, that would be sufficient of itself to impugn the authenticity of his account. But out of all Kazhdan's alleged anachronisms not one of them is of such a kind (cf. note 69 for a detailed discussion of his signal failure to demonstrate the existence of a clear reference to Turkish cannon in Kaminiates' text). But this is not the place for a full discussion of the

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historical implications of Kazhdan's hypothesis. That subject has now been dealt with in an article in *Byzantinoslavica* (cf. Frendo 1997).

Finally, Kazhdan's hypothesis of fifteenth-century authorship is not strengthened by his failure to find a convincing explanation of why anyone writing in that century should wish to resort to the fiction of attributing his work to the otherwise unknown John Kaminiates and of placing it in the historical context of the Arab capture of Thessaloniki. All he has to offer by way of explanation are two rather far-fetched suggestions. The first is that we should read into a short autobiographical passage in Kaminiates (§43.2) some kind of punning reference to the fifteenth-century work of John Anagnostes, who wrote an account of the capture of Thessaloniki by the Turks in 1430 (Kazhdan, 1978, 312). His second suggestion is that Kaminiates' work 'was written as an antithesis to Anagnostes' History, which was marked by a latent pro-Turkish tendency' (*ibid.*, 314). That would make it into a sort of coded message whose purpose was to remind the reader just how badly the Turks had been behaving themselves in recent times by telling the story of just how beastly the Arabs had been five centuries earlier!

Apart from the inherent improbability of such a notion, there seems to be no evidence of any such understanding of the text by the contemporary (*i.e.* according to Kazhdan's hypothesis, fifteenth-century) reader. We have occasional marginal notes in the two most important extant manuscripts, belonging to the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries respectively (cf. Böhlig 1973, XX-XX11). Apart from short indications of content, the burden of these comments is to say what a thoroughly edifying work this is, a sentiment admirably echoed by the *subscriptio* at the end of the text, which tells us what a power of good whoever reads it will do his soul, especially if he happens to be a native of Thessaloniki (*ibid.*, XVI-XX and p. 68, lines 20 *sqq.*).

A modified version of Kazhdan's hypothesis has recently been proposed by A. Konstantakopoulou, who is also inclined to treat the extended description of Thessaloniki as a later addition, but appears to regard the rest of the work as authentic (Konstantakopoulou 1996, 70-94). She adds little of substance to Kazhdan's objections.

Conclusion

Differing views have been taken of the historical value of Kaminiates' work. I. Karayannopoulos and G. Weiss consider it to be, despite its edifying tendencies, the principal historical source for the capture of

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Thessaloniki, containing a useful assortment of facts and figures which relate to military matters, to special topics, such as the nature of Slav settlement in the neighbourhood of Thessaloniki, commercial relations with Bulgaria, and various bits of information of economic and socio-historical interest and special information on the topography of Thessaloniki (Karayannopoulos and Weiss 1982, 372-73). Kazhdan, on the other hand, complains of a paucity of historical facts and credits Kaminiates with the reporting of only three 'events, lacking in the short entry of the chronicles' (Kazhdan 1978, 306-307). Astonishing though it may seem, Kazhdan does not include in his list of events the mass deportation which Kaminiates relates in some detail and which the chronicles, the Byzantine ones at any rate, ignore. As the present century draws to a close, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that it in particular has been punctuated or tormented (depending on one's point of view) by a whole series of such 'historical non-events', and that only the persistence of an age-old prejudice can justify excluding them from the purview of history.

Kaminiates' work does not belong to the mainstream of Byzantine literature. Perhaps it is only by accident that it belongs to literature at all. That, I believe, is what makes it especially valuable. And if Kaminiates' text has suffered so far from too many scholars reading too much into it and too few people reading it through, it is hoped that the present English translation will go some way towards redressing the balance.

David Frendo

INTRODUCTION - PART TWO

Thessaloniki in its Geographical and Historical Context

The city was founded by king Kassandros *ca* 315 B.C. in honour of his wife Thessalonike, half-sister of Alexander the Great. It is located at the tip of the Thermaic Gulf and near the mouth of the navigable Axios (Vardar) river, the water route linking the western part of the Balkans with the Aegean. The Via Egnatia, a major Roman road of the 2nd century B.C., remained the principal communication line that began in Dyrrachion (the modern Durazzo or Durrës) on the Adriatic coast, and after passing through Thessaloniki ended in Constantinople (see note 23). Holding such a privileged position at the crossroads leading from North to South and from East to West, the city quickly developed into a populous and prosperous centre (Strabo, II, 61; Theodoret, PG 82, 1232A); in the *Miracula* it is called a *megapolis* (Lemerle, I, 106, 17; cf. Kaminiates §3.2). All through the middle and late Byzantine period Thessaloniki remained an important administrative, military, commercial and cultural centre second only to Constantinople.

Galerius (emperor 305-311) made Thessaloniki his residence, and built a complex consisting of a palace, a triumphal arch, a hippodrome and a mausoleum (Rotunda). Later, with the transfer to it of the Eparch's headquarters *ca* 441, Thessaloniki was elevated to become the capital of the Prefecture of Illyricum (Croke 1978, 256). At this time the city was strengthened with new walls along the line of the Hellenistic fortifications and thus henceforth became one of the most defensible strongholds in the north of Greece against numerous barbarian invaders. Thessaloniki came under frequent attacks by land and sea especially in the late 6th and 7th centuries by the Avaro-Slavs (see note 57). The city successfully defended itself, claiming to have been saved each time by the supernatural intervention of its patron St. Demetrios. With the formation of the theme of Thessaloniki, which probably occurred in the early part of the 9th century, the city became the seat of its strategos, his administration and his troops.

Quite early, it seems, Thessaloniki became the see of a bishop, whose rank by 325 had been elevated to that of an archbishop; he maintained a

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superiority among the archbishops of the Prefecture of Illyricum and he was the Pope's representative for the prefecture until *ca* 732, when the jurisdiction of the see was transferred from Rome to the Patriarchate of Constantinople (see note 9). Splendid churches like those of St. George, St. Demetrios, the Acheiropoietos and St. Sophia, to mention only the major ones (Kaminiates §11), as well as a number of monastic establishments both within and outside the city walls (Kaminiates §5 and §38), are evidence of the major ecclesiastical and spiritual rôle the city played in the life of the inhabitants of the area from the very early times of its history in the Christian period.

The information which survives about Thessaloniki's economy before the 9th century is sketchy: we know that there was a state arms factory (*fabrica*) operating in the city from the 4th century onwards, and all skilled workers and professions were organized in guilds or *corpora* (Irmscher 1995, 138); it is not known when the factory ceased production. During the Dark Age a salt-pan was in function but the mint was closed to resume production in the 9th century (Metcalf 1963, 277 ff.). Following the 'byzantinization' of the Slavs and the establishment of peace with Bulgaria in the second half of the 9th century, Thessaloniki reached 'new heights of power and prosperity' (Ahrweiler, 1988). In addition to the generally prevailing peaceful conditions (see note 24) and its favourable geographical position, the annual trade fair, which was so widely known in the Balkans and in Western Europe, must surely have contributed to the city's economic growth, as is attested by the appointment of new customs officials, the *abydikoi* (see note 23). Perhaps further evidence of the city's growing commercial importance was the transfer of the Bulgarian market from the imperial capital to Thessaloniki toward the end of the 9th century (see note 22), but the hostilities that ensued did not, it seems, affect its commercial relations until the Arab siege of 904.

The Walls and Fortifications of Thessaloniki

The term used by Kaminiates to describe the structures projecting in the direction of the countryside from the wall for defensive purposes is 'probolos'; in the case of Thessaloniki's defenses these are mostly redans, and few of them are actual towers (Tafrali 1913, 86; Spieser, 1984, 74). The shape of the existing *proboloi* varied; most of them are rectangular and triangular but there are also some polygonal, round and semicircular; the triangular towers and redans have a form not commonly used in

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many city fortifications (Philo, *Poliorcetica* A3, p. 339 ed. Garland; Spieser 1984, 74, note 294; Gounaris 1976, 36-39). The size of the towers and the redans varied according to the engineers' plans; some of the eastern *proboloi*, for instance, measure 10.5m along the front, and 3m to 6m on the sides protruding from the curtain. There is no standard height for the towers either: they can range from 8.5m up to 15m in height from ground level to the top of the parapet (Tafrali 1913, 87; Fountoukou 1985, 138-142). The thirteen towers in the wall between the city and the Acropolis are all rectangular, and are set quite close to each other to provide a more effective defence. Depending on the nature of the terrain, the distance between towers can vary from 8m to 60m. It is difficult to determine either the position or the total number of the *proboloi* and the varying distances between towers and redans because of the destruction of the fortifications in the plain areas where there was the largest concentration of towers. Spieser's estimate that there was a total of around 120 towers and redans, including those of the Heptapyrgion but excluding the maritime towers, seems a reasonable approximation (see the city plan included in this publication).

The extant fortifications of Thessaloniki give the impression of being a unified construction, but in fact they have undergone a series of major and minor reconstructions and additions in the course of their long history. There are many substantial differences of opinion among scholars concerning the identification and dating of the reconstructions. These differences are concerned with questions of masonry styles, reusable materials, brick stamps and epigraphical evidence.

The Hellenistic walls: In accordance with the general practice of the time, the Hellenistic city walls must have been contemporaneous with the foundation of the city *ca.* 315 (Strabo VII, frag. 21; Spieser 1974, 516 n.12; Vickers 1972, 166f.); the walls are first attested in 169 B.C. when the Romans besieged Thessaloniki by land and sea (Livy XLIV, 10, 6). However, archaeologists have not been able to determine either the extent or the course of the original circuit. In fact, the core and the size of the Hellenistic town still elude all modern researchers. Since no Hellenistic monuments or streets have as yet been excavated in the city any attempt to identify the original plan of the city can only be tentative and debatable. Vickers (1972, 158-63) holds the view that the rectangular grid with its ratio 1:2, which was common in other Hellenistic cities, had not been modified by the Roman plan; the core of the Hellenistic city was bounded to the south by a street later known as Egnatia and to the north by the modern Kassandrou street. (Vickers, 1972, figs. 3 and 4; see also

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Spieser 1984, 61f.). Velenis, (1994, 9-26) who takes considerable pains to reconstruct the original plan in some detail, estimates that Hellenistic Thessaloniki, in accordance with the then prevailing criteria concerning size of city plans, could not have occupied more than 45-90 hectares as compared to the 350 hectares it occupied in the Roman period; in his view the southern boundaries of Hellenistic Thessaloniki must be placed in the zone formed by Kassandrou and old Filippou streets.

The Roman Walls: In the last fifty years archaeologists have uncovered a wealth of Late Roman structures which allow scholars to follow more clearly the development of the city and its fortifications. Very little is known about the early Roman phase of the circuit. Cicero, writing around the middle of the 1st century B.C. (*in Pisonem* 34, 84; *de prov. cons.* 2, 4) testifies that the Thessalonians, because they were afraid of enemy raids, decided to fortify the Acropolis (*munire arcem*) because the city defences did not offer any security to them. Cicero's imprecise references have been variously interpreted (see relevant note to §39).

Modern scholars agree that extensive rebuilding and repairing of the Hellenistic wall which had fallen, it seems, into disrepair, were carried out in the mid 3rd century under the Gothic threat; the city must have been refortified before the sieges of 254 (Zosimos I, 29) and 268 (Zosimos I, 43, 1). It is generally thought that the new wall, which replaced to a large extent the Hellenistic one, was constructed rather hastily; the evidence suggests (a) that it was weak, having a width of only 1.40m, and (b) that it made liberal use of materials taken from nearby cemeteries (inscribed tombstones dated in the late 2nd to early 3rd century), and from Hellenistic and Roman buildings, in the construction of rectangular towers (Papazotos 1985, 27; Velenis 1994, 27-38; Spieser 1974, 517-19 and 1984, 63f.). The city wall of this period, where it survives, has been excavated both in the eastern (the discoveries in the Syndrivani area are quite significant) and the western sections, and in the northern section separating the city from the Acropolis. There is, however, disagreement among archaeologists as to which sections of the city ramparts should be dated to the 3rd century A.D. on the basis of constructional methods and materials. The most comprehensive study of the extant sections is found in the study by Velenis (1994, 27-40), who identifies three main construction techniques.

A highly characteristic feature of the 3rd century ramparts was the incorporation of strong square towers, placed approximately 50m apart on an axial grid, and built with reused materials of poros stones or marble slabs which were taken from the nearby cemeteries and other

buildings (Velenis, 1994, 35-37; Papazotos 1989, 27; Spieser 1984, 63f.). Concerning the course and the extent of the 3rd century fortifications scholarly opinions are divided: some maintain that the Roman walls were built on the line of the Hellenistic ramparts (Tafrali 1913, 71f.; Vickers 1972, 169; Spieser 1984, 64), while others argue that the new ramparts extended in the low-lying areas as far as the sea and thus substantially increased the urban territory to as much as 350 hectares (Marki 1982, 33-52; Papazotos 1985, 27; Velenis 1994, 40-42); the new perimeter became the basis for all fortification work carried out in later times.

The Later Roman or Early Byzantine Walls: The very substantial archaeological work which has been carried out in recent years has shed much light on the complex issues surrounding the fortifications of this period. The question of chronology is the most vexing and it will be addressed below. Scholars agree, however, that the ramparts underwent a major reconstruction as a result of which Thessaloniki became an impregnable city comparable only to Constantinople.

To reinforce the weak Roman fortification wall a new wall was constructed attached to it on the outer side. It was a wall of a different conception and of greater width than the earlier one; in certain areas the new wall doubled the width of the existing ramparts. Moreover, new triangular towers and redans were added to the curtain in the low lying areas, both east and west, and rectangular towers were built to wall sections on the steeper regions (Spieser 1979, 511f.; 1984, 67-70; Velenis 1994, 63-86).

The basis for dating the Later Roman ramparts is generally the method of building which was used to construct them, combined with such epigraphical evidence as exists. Concerning the interpretation of the construction techniques there is no unanimity among scholars. Detailed descriptions of the constructional methods and building materials used for the walls of the early Byzantine period may be found in Tafrali (1913, 73-95), Spieser (1984, 67-77) and Velenis (1994, 63-86). Although the various construction features may indicate chronologically different phases of wall construction, they still remain a highly disputed and unreliable body of evidence for dating the Late Roman circuit.

Concerning the epigraphical evidence, the focus of scholarly debate since the end of the 19th century has been essentially the Hormisdas inscription which was found in a tower of the eastern wall (no. 22 in Spieser 1984, 66, pl. V,1). The inscription tells us that a certain Hormisdas 'fortified this city with impregnable walls having clean hands.' Hormisdas has been generally identified with the commander of

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the Egyptian forces of Theodosius I in Thessaloniki in 380 (Zosimos 4.30; Tafrali 1913, 33-40; Gounaris 1971, 311-23; Bakirtzis 1976, 17). He is praised in the inscription as a fair-minded official, and free from corruption, if we assume that the generally accepted restoration of the less legible phrase 'having clean hands' is right. For some scholars the restored inscription is more appropriate for a governor than for a military commander. But the historical record makes no reference to a Hormisdas as *praefectus praetorio per Illyricum*. Vickers (1969, 313-18; 1972, 228-33) argued that the Hormisdas who was addressed as *praefectus praetorio Orientis* (IG X, ii, 1, 43; CJ 11. 22. 1) in late 449 or 450, or simply as prefect in early 448 (CJ 1. 1. 3) could have been prefect of Illyricum before 448, and could therefore have been responsible for the reconstruction of the wall. Croke, however (1978, 255-58; cf. also Spieser 1973, 145f and 1984, 6f.), has suggested the year 442/3, shortly after Thessaloniki became the seat of the prefecture of Illyricum, when the Hun menace was most serious. As the prefect of Illyricum Hormisdas would then have ensured that Thessaloniki, the newly established capital, was secured from the Hunnish raids with an 'impregnable' defensive circuit. By 448 the Byzantine government had concluded a peace treaty with the Huns, which took away the pressure of impending attacks.

Repairs to the walls in later times are mainly known from the inscriptions found on the city walls. Some repairs, the extent of which cannot be determined, were done to a section of the west fortifications during Anastasios' reign (491-518); evidence for this is provided by an inscription (Papageorgiou 1894, 238), now lost, which referred to a certain Paul, son of Vivianus, who was consul in 512 (PLRE II, 1971, 854-55; Vickers 1973, 243; Feissel-Spieser 1979, 314). Further repairs are recorded in an inscription, also lost, dated to the end of the 6th century during the episcopate of Eusebios (Spieser 1978, 154); the inscription found among the remains of the maritime wall referred probably to localized repairs carried out under the pressure of the Avaro-Slav attacks during Maurice's rule (582-602). Velenis (1994, 77-80) dates to Heraclius' reign a section of the dividing north wall with large brick crosses and the Pyrrhus inscription. The walls were damaged (*Miracula* I, 194. 19f.) during the earthquakes which occurred in the 620s (Lemerle II, 1981, 173), but since no inscriptions have been found in the existing walls from this period, it is difficult to know the extent of the damage and the repair work. A recently discovered inscription (Papazotos, 1985, 30) mentions a certain Marinos, who bore the title of imperial *protospatharios*, and Kakikis, an imperial *strator*, and tells us that they were responsible for the

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renovations which were made in 862 to the tower at the south end of the west wall.

This short sketch would be incomplete without a rapid glance at the seaward side of the city's defences. An artificial port at the northwestern corner of the city was constructed in 322 by Constantine the Great according to Zosimos (2. 22). It is estimated that it must have covered an area of one square kilometre in the 7th century (Bakirtzis 1975, 317). It extended northwards as far as the vicinity of Frangon street, and on the west it was bounded by the western city wall; its eastern limits cannot be determined with any degree of certainty owing to the fact that no traces of the eastern wall survived (Tafrali 1913, 17-18).

Slight remains only of the northern wall were seen by Tafrali to the west of the church of St. Menas (Tafrali 1913, 18); the remains helped determine the route of the northern wall with some certainty although there is some disagreement as to where exactly it joined the western land wall (see Bakirtzis, 1975, 316-317 for details). A rather difficult reference in the *Miracula* (I, 177. 19-20) to 'an unwall'd part' in the maritime area, which the Slavs attacked *ca* 615, has been interpreted as meaning that Constantine's harbour was not fortified at this time (Bakirtzis 1975, 320, 333; Spieser 1981, 484 and 1984, 34); Theocharides (1975, 394) takes a more cautious position on this matter, maintaining that the harbour was probably fortified at the beginning of the 7th century. There is a general consensus that the harbour was protected by a wall, most probably constructed after an earthquake dated in the 620s (Lemerle II, 1981, 173), at a time when a coalition of Slavic tribes under Perboundos blockaded the city by land and sea from 676 to 678 (*Miracula* I, 214.30, 215.20; Lemerle II, 1981, 116ff.). Constant silting had considerably reduced the size of the harbour by the time of Demetrios Kydones (PG 109, 64). After 1430 it had ceased to be a port any longer and was replaced by a wharf; Evliya Çelebi, who visited Thessaloniki in 1668, refers to a single port which is that formed by the Thermaic Gulf (Moschopoulos 1940, 337).

The problems concerning the course, the structure and the date of the maritime fortifications of Thessaloniki are more complex than those of the land ramparts. Since the sea wall had begun to be torn down in 1866 and by 1874 had been completely demolished, many questions about it are being hotly debated with no satisfactory answers in sight.

Kaminiates' information that the sea wall was low and useless for defence because a Roman emperor, according to tradition, constructed it hastily out of fear of Xerxes' use of naval power in 480 B.C., is most

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puzzling and muddled. Further, he states that for a long time the city was unwallled on the sea side, implying perhaps that the land fortifications had been in place before the maritime ones; is there any historical veracity in Kaminiates' reference to this tradition that he had either read or heard from his contemporaries?

It is recorded that Xerxes, when on his way to southern Greece, stopped at the site of the future Thessaloniki, which was then called Therme (Herodotos VII, 124, 128 and 183), without engaging in any violence; he may, however, have destroyed a temple on his retreat (Bakalakis 1963, 30-34). Kaminiates refers anachronistically to a Roman emperor, but he or the account he had in mind probably meant an emperor of the 3rd century, at a time when Sassanian Persia had become a formidable foe, though not as a naval power, to the east Roman territories (Rostovtzeff 1960, 269f.).

A very detailed study of the maritime defences was written in 1975 by Bakirtzis, taking into account the reports of recent archaeological work. His conclusions have been questioned, and modifications have been proposed concerning the date, course and relation of the sea ramparts. This complex and controversial issue may be summarised as follows. Bakirtzis identifies two (or more precisely, three) different sea walls, which he calls Roman, early Christian and Byzantine.

Roman sea wall: the first wall, remains of which were uncovered along Metropoleos street (Bakirtzis 1975, 297; Bakalakis 1966, 10) had a width of 3m; it is possible that it was a double wall, each part being 1.5m wide as the east and west land ramparts were at certain points (Spieser, 1981, 483), but the relation between the Roman sea and land walls is not known. As in the land walls, an abundance of reused architectural material was found in the extant parts as well as a number of inscriptions (Duchesne-Bayet 1876, 222; Tsigaridas 1973, 478-80). The mid-3rd century wall probably followed the course of the Hellenistic sea wall. Its existence cannot be questioned, since Thessaloniki was often threatened by sea, for instance in 169 B.C. by the Romans (Livy XLIV, 10,6; Spieser 191, 483). Velenis, however, as discussed elsewhere (1994, 97; see the relevant note to §4), relying on Kaminiates' statement that 'the city was for long years completely unwallled' (§8) thinks that the Metropoleos Roman wall was built when the east and west ramparts were extended southwards from Filippou Street south to Metropoleos Street.

The early Christian sea wall: remains of this wall have been discovered slightly south of Metropoleos Street and at the intersection of

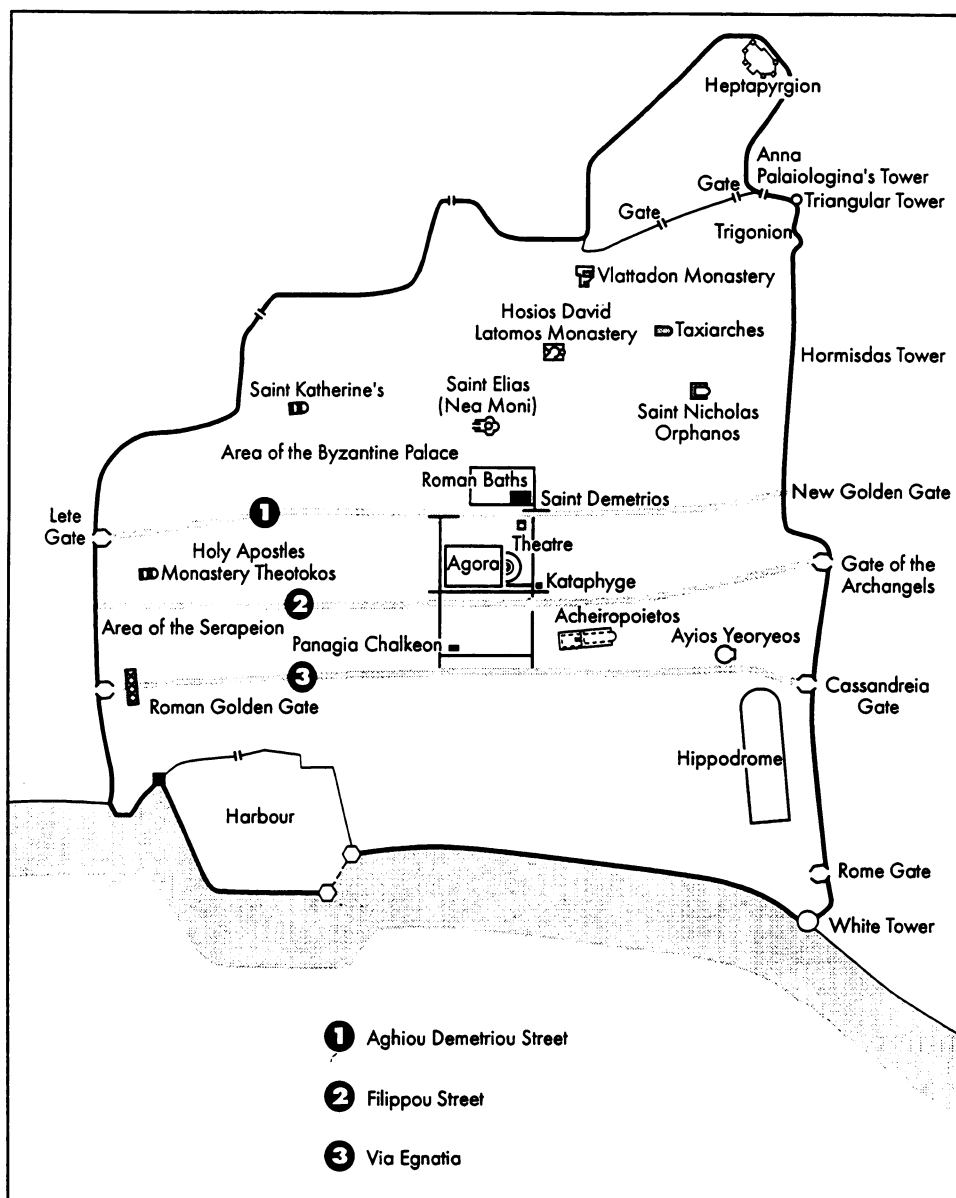
Introduction

Pavlou Mela and Gounari Streets (Bakirtzis, 1975, 297, 320f.); it is made of stones and bricks and its foundations rest on beams (p. 335). Nothing is said either about the approximate date or the relation of this wall to the Roman wall mentioned earlier (Bakirtzis 1975, 472 pl. 10). Spieser (1984, 71) thinks that there was no reconstruction of the Roman maritime wall in the mid 5th century in the same way as there was one for the remaining land fortifications; in his view, the absence of a general overhaul of the sea fortifications clearly explains Kaminiates' description of them as low and weak compared to the lofty and strong land circuit (§8).

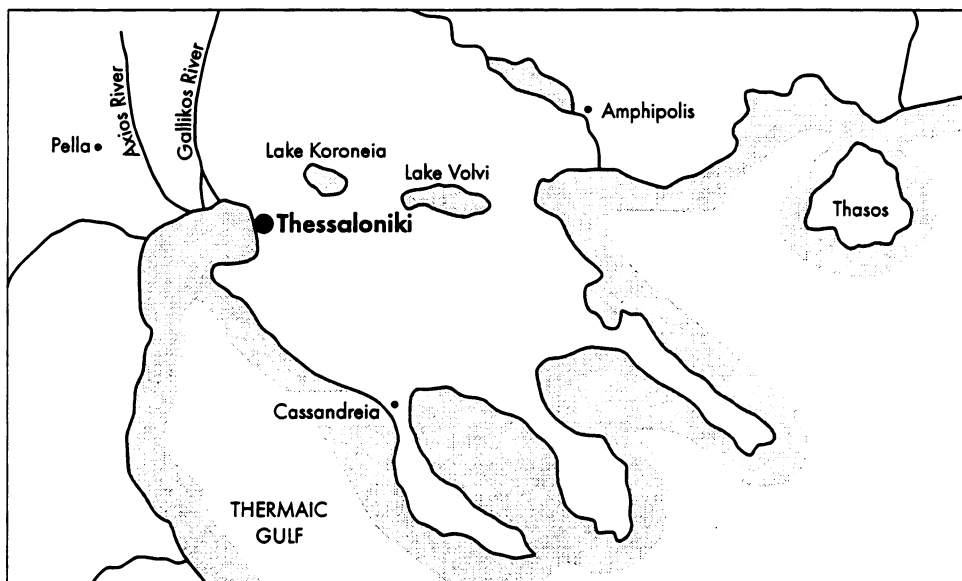
The Byzantine sea wall: Remains of the wall curtain, as described by Bakirtzis (1975, 325-30, 393-95), were uncovered by archaeologists at certain points along Koromila street. The distance between the Koromila wall and that of Metropoleos is approximately 50m. The construction of this new wall is placed soon after the earthquakes that occurred *ca* 620-630 during which 'the entire city fortifications were destroyed' (*Miracula* I, 187, 30f.; Lemerle II, 1981, 173).

Bakirtzis' thesis has been questioned and found lacking in cogency. Some scholars have proposed a date as late as the 10th century for the construction of the new Koromila street wall (Vickers 1970, 273; Velenis 1994, 82, 101); others, however, such as Theocharides (1975, 371-74) supported by Spieser (1981, 483) argue that it is most unlikely that a wall of the kind that Bakirtzis claims was erected along Koromila street in the early 7th century could have been reconstructed on a new line, after the Roman/Early Christian defences at Metropoleos Street had been damaged or even destroyed by the earthquakes. There is no record of a new wall construction, either on the seaward or the landward sides, in the early 7th and subsequent centuries; scholars assume that only limited and localised repairs were made to the maritime defences in the period following the earthquakes, rather than a total reconstruction (Lemerle II, 1981, 173; Christophilopoulou 1983, 59; Spieser 1981, 483).

Athanasios Fotiou



Plan of Thessaloniki



Plan of the neighbourhood of Thessaloniki

Abbreviations in Notes to Greek Text

TABULA NOTARUM IN APPARATU CRITICO ADHIBITARUM

CODICES

V	= Vaticanus gr. 172, f. 1—90 ^v , a. circiter 1439 scriptus	alt.	= alterum
B	= Barberinianus gr. 241, f. 31 ^r —106 ^r , s. XVI	c.	= capitulum
L	= Athous ex Laura Λ 55, f. 147 ^r —205 ^v , a. 1511 scrip- tus	cf.	= confer
P	= Parisinus gr. 1031, f. 15 ^r —62 ^v , s. XVI (solam partem priorem textus continens)	codd.	= codices
		coniect.	= coniectura
		corr.	= correxit, correctum
		del.	= deleuit
		i. e.	= id est
		img.	= in margine
		it.	= in textu
		iter.	= iteravit
		l. c.	= loco citato
		litt.	= litterae
		om.	= omisit, omiserunt, omis- sum

EDITORES

All.	= Allatius	p.	= pagina
Bekk.	= Bekker	pc.	= post correcturam (post codicis siglum)
Bö.	= Böhlig	pr.	= primum
Comb.	= Combefis	s.	= saeculum
		sc.	= scilicet
		sq.	= sequens
		sqq.	= sequentes
		v.	= vide
		vs.	= versus

CETERA

a.	= anno	[...]	= vocabula delenda
ac.	= ante correcturam (post codicis siglum)	<...>	= vocabula addenda
add.	= addidit, addiderunt		
adnot. mg.	= adnotatio marginalis		

JOHN KAMINIATES

**THE CAPTURE
OF THESSALONIKI**

ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΚΛΗΡΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΥΒΟΥΚΛΕΙΣΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΜΙΝΙΑΤΟΥ
ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΛΩΣΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ

1. Ὡς ἀρίστη τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡ φιλοπονία καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς κτῆσιν
ἐν ἑαυτῇ μαρτυροῦσα. 2 σοῦ δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πλεονεκτημάτων
5 ἔκδηλον καὶ ἐν τούτῳ καθέστηκε τὸ φιλόπονον, ὧ ἀνδρῶν βέλτιστε
καὶ πολυμαθέστατε Γρηγόριε, οἷς τε πρὸς ἡμᾶς γράφεις καὶ οἷς παρ'
ἡμῶν ἐπιζητεῖς διὰ γραμμάτων μαθεῖν. 3 οὐκ ὀλίγης γὰρ ἀρετῆς καὶ
φιλοπόνου σπουδῆς ἐπίδειξιν ἔχει τὸ πολλῶν ἐθέλγειν εἰληφέναι πραγ-
μάτων γνῶσιν, καὶ μάλιστα δι' ὧν ψυχὴ τὸν θεῖον φόβον ἐγκυμονεῖ
10 καὶ οἷον χρειώδεις τινὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐκ τούτου | τῷ θεωρητικῷ μέρει τοῦ
νοὸς ἐμβιβάζει, ἐξ ὧν διδάσκεται τῆς μὲν ἀμαρτίας ἐκκλίνειν ὡς δημιουρ-
γοῦ τοῦ θανάτου, ἔχεσθαι δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἥς τὸ τέλος ζωὴ αἰώνιος τοῖς
αἵρουμένοις αὐτήν. 4 ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ἐπιταγὴν πληρώσειν ἀναβαλέσθαι
τέως ἐδόκουν δυοῖν ἔνεκεν, τό τε πρὸς σὲ περὶ τοιούτων γράφειν ἐπα-
15 χθὲς κρίνων, ἄνδρα τοσοῦτον, οὗ λόγοι μὲν τὰς πράξεις ἰθύνουσι, πρά-
ξεις δὲ συμφωνοῦσαι τοῖς λόγοις τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀλλήλοις ἀντιδιδόασιν (ἡδη
γὰρ ἡ φήμη βοᾷ τὴν σὴν ἐν ἅπασι τελειότητα, καὶ σιωπῶντα ταῖς
ἡμετέραις ἐγνώρισεν ἀκοαῖς), καὶ τὸ μηδὲν δύνασθαι περὶ ὧν τὴν ζήτη-
σιν ἐποιήσω καλῶς ἐξηγήσασθαι, τὴν οἰκείαν ἀμαθίαν ὡς εὐπρόσωπον
20 προβαλλόμενος ἀπολογίαν, ὥστε μὴ καθυβρίσαι μηδὲ σμικρῦναι τῷ
λόγῳ τὸ περιφανὲς τῶν παρὰ σοῦ ζητηθέντων πραγμάτων, καὶ πραγ-
μάτων ἐκείνων τῶν μικροῦ δεῖν ἅπασαν πληρωσάντων τῇ ἀκοῇ τὴν
ὑφ' ἡλίον. 5 ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοῦτό μοι μετὰ τῶν ἡδη λεχθέντων
ἐπῆλθε, μὴ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀφλήμασι καὶ παρακοῆς ἀπαιτηθεῖν δίκας,
25 τᾶλλα μὲν φύσει δεινοῦ πάθους καὶ ὀλεθρίου, καὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ
νόμου περιφρονῆσαι τοὺς γενάρχας ἡμῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναπείσαντος, ἡκω
πληρώσων τὸ αἰτηθέν, τῇ σῇ θαρρήσας εὐγνώμονι καὶ συμπαθεστάτῃ
φιλίᾳ. 6 εὖ γὰρ οἶδα μήτε ταῖς τεχνικαῖς μεθόδοις μήτε μὴν ταῖς ἐπι-
στημονικαῖς τρυτάναις τῆς σῆς ἀκραιφνοῦς καὶ μεγάλης σοφίας τὸ |
30 ἀκαλλῆς τοῦ τῇδε λόγου καὶ ἀνάρμοστον ἢ τῶν λεγομένων τὸν νοῦν

JOHN KAMINIATES, CLERIC AND CHAMBERLAIN,

ON THE CAPTURE OF THESSALONIKI

§1. How much superior to all other attributes is diligence, and how eloquently does it testify to the possession of every virtue! And you, Gregory,¹ o best and most learned of men, have displayed along with all your other admirable qualities particular diligence both in what you write to me about and in what you require me to write about to you. For the desire to gain knowledge of many things is a clear indication of virtue and of diligence, especially if it is knowledge of those things whereby the soul conceives the fear of God² and thereby provides the mind with the necessary food for thought, so that it learns to turn away from sin³ as from the artificer of death,⁴ and to hold fast to virtue, whose aim is life eternal for those who choose her.⁵ Yet I decided for the time being to put off the fulfilment of your demand for two reasons: on the one hand there was what I considered to be the invidiousness of writing about such matters to a man of your calibre, whose words guide his deeds and whose deeds are an accurate and harmonious reflection of his words (for already fame proclaims your perfection in all things, and though you yourself say nothing, has filled our ears with the sound of your name), and on the other hand, there was my total inability to furnish a well-written account of the subject of your request. So I held out the plausible pretext of my own ignorance, and declined to demean with the triviality of my style the magnitude of the events you had asked me to relate, events the report of which had all but filled the entire globe. But since along with the considerations just mentioned the thought also occurred to me that in addition to my other transgressions I might be forced to pay the penalty for disobedience, which is of its nature a dreadful and destructive affliction, especially since it was disobedience that from of old persuaded our forefathers to flout the very law of God, I am resolved to carry out what has been requested of me, and I am encouraged to do so by the confidence that your kind and sympathetic friendship inspires. Indeed I know full well, that the inelegance and ineptitude of the present work and the intention of its contents are not rejected either by the technical investigations or by the scientific evaluations characteristic of your great and undiluted store of wisdom,

ἀποδοκιμάζεσθαι, ἀληθῆ δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ παντὸς ἄλλοτρίαν καὶ ψεύδους καὶ πλάσματος τὴν τῶν ῥηθησομένων προβαίνουσιν συγγραφὴν ἀπάσης μέμψεως ἀπολύεσθαι.

2. Ἐξήτησας μαθεῖν διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸν τρόπον δι' ὃν τὴν
 35 φρουρὰν οἰκοῦμεν βαρβάρων χερσὶν ἐκδοθέντες, καὶ πῶς τὴν ἄλλοτρίαν
 ἀντὶ τῆς ἰδίας διημειψάμεθα, ποίας τέ ἐσμεν πατρίδος, καὶ τίνα τὰ κατ'
 αὐτήν. 2 τεκμαίρεσθαι γὰρ ἔφης ἐκ τῆς μικρᾶς ἐκείνης ὁμιλίας, δι' ἧς
 παροδεύοντί σοι τὴν Τρίπολιν ὀλίγον συνεγενόμεθα, πλήρεις μὲν ὄντας
 ἡμᾶς μακρᾶς ἐξηγήσεως, μεγάλα δὲ τινα καὶ πάσης τραγωδίας ἐπέκεινα
 40 τὰ τε ἤδη συμβεβηκότα ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ ἐξ ὕστερον προσδοκώμενα. 3 καὶ
 γὰρ ἔτυχες τότε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀλητεῦν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμῶν συμφορὰν,
 καὶ τισιν αἰχμαλώτοις ἐκείσε συνεπαγόμενος, οὓς ἔλεγες ὁμοπατρίους
 εἶναι σοι Καππαδόκας, μεθ' ὧν καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντιόχου πόλιν ἐστέλλου,
 μηδαμοῦ στῆναι τῶν ἀλγεινῶν ἐξηγούμενος. 4 ὁπότε καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐώρας,
 45 ὥς καὶ αὐτὸς μαρτυρεῖς, τό τε νεαρόν τοῦ πένθους ἔχοντας καὶ τὰ ἶχνη
 τοῦ προλαβόντος φόβου τοῖς προσώποις ἡμῶν ἐγκαθήμενα, ὥς καὶ
 σιωπῶντας βοᾶν τὴν συμφορὰν ἐκ τοῦ χρώματος. 5 ἀλλὰ περὶ τού-
 των εἰ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπεξιέναι βουλευθείην, μακρόν ἂν εἴη καὶ τῇ χρεῖα
 μὴ κατάλληλον τὸν λόγον ποιήσομαι, τῆς συμμετρίας τὸν νόμον καθ-
 50 υπερβαίνων, ἵνα μὴ λέγω ὅτι καὶ | τὴν σὴν ἀρράφθυμον ἀκοὴν ἀποκναίσω,
 εἰ καὶ ὅτι δι' ἐφέσεως ἔχεις τοῖς λεγομένοις ἐπακροάσασθαι. 6 ἀλλ'
 ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τοῦτο κατ' ἀρχὰς ὑπέσχου, τὸ νουνεχῶς ἀκούειν, ἄρχο-
 μαι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ὧδε.

3. Ἡμεῖς, ὦ φίλος, πατρίδος ἐσμέν Θεσσαλονίκης· αὐτὴν γὰρ πρώ-
 55 τὴν γνωριοῦμαί σοι, δι' ἧς ἔγνω ὧν οὐπω ἐγνώκειν πολλά. 2 καὶ
 σοί γε γνωσθεῖς ἄρτι τὴν περὶ αὐτῆς ἐκείνης γυνῶσιν εἰσπράττομαι,
 πόλεως μεγάλης καὶ πρώτης τῶν Μακεδόνων, τᾶλλα μὲν περιφανοῦς
 οἷς σεμνύνεται πόλις, καὶ μηδεμιᾶ τῶν ἔγγιστα παραχωρούσης μὴ ὅτι
 κατ' αὐτὴν ὀφθῆναι, περιφανεστέρας δὲ τὴν εὐσεβείαν, ἣν ἐξ ἀρχῆς
 60 ἐδέξατο καὶ δεξαμένη μέχρι τοῦ νῦν διεσώσατο. 3 αὐτὸν γὰρ αὐχεῖ
 Θεσσαλονίκη τὸν Παῦλον ἔχειν τῆς εὐσεβείας διδάσκαλον, τὸ σκεῦος
 τῆς ἐκλογῆς, ὃς ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ κύκλῳ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ τῷ
 εὐαγγελικῷ περιλαβὼν τὴν οἰκουμένην κηρύγματι ἐν αὐτῇ μᾶλλον τὸν
 τῆς θεογνωσίας σπόρον κατέβαλε καὶ πολύχουν ἀποδίδοσθαι τὸν τῆς

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and that since the account of what will be said proceeds truthfully, and in a manner alien to all falsehood and fiction, it is absolved of any blame.

§2. You sought through your letter to learn the way in which it had come about that we dwell in captivity,⁶ having been delivered into the hands of barbarians, how we exchanged a foreign land for our own country, where we hail from and what sort of place it is. You said that you guessed from our brief association during the short time we spent together when you were passing through Tripoli that we had a long tale to tell, that dire calamities beyond the level of any tragedy had already overtaken us and that others no less dire probably lay ahead. And in fact you too were yourself at that time destitute and enduring the same misfortune as us, and were led off in that direction together with certain captives, whom you said to be fellow Kappadokians of yours, in whose company also you were being sent to Antioch.⁷ You explained that in no place had you been allowed any respite from pain. That was when you saw us, as you yourself can confirm, bearing the scars of recent grief and with the marks of past fear imprinted on our faces, so that our pallor proclaimed what our lips would not tell.

But if I wished to give a full account of these events, my story would be inordinately and needlessly long, I would be overstepping the bounds of moderation, and perhaps exhausting even your unflagging powers of concentration, even though you desire so ardently and so expressly to pay heed to all that is said. But since you promised me your undivided attention from the outset, let me begin our tale as follows:

§3. We, dear friend, are natives of Thessaloniki. So I shall acquaint you with her through whom first I came to know many things which I did not yet know. Quite recently, since I made your acquaintance, I have been collecting information about her. She is a great city and the foremost city of the Macedonians.⁸ Though famed for all the other things on which a city prides herself and not admitting of any comparison with her nearest neighbours, she is nevertheless more famous for the true piety which she received from earliest times, and having once received, has preserved right up to the present day. Thessaloniki boasts as her instructor in true piety Paul himself, 'the chosen vessel', who having travelled around the world from Jerusalem to Illyricum preaching the gospel sowed the seed of the knowledge of God especially in her, and laboured zealously to produce in abundance the harvest of faith.

65 πίστεως καρπὸν διεσπούδασε· 4 μετ' ἐκείνον δὲ τὸν μέγαν ἐν μάρ-
τυσι καὶ ἀξιοθαύμαστον ἐν ἀθλοφόροις Δημήτριον τὸν μυροβλύτην,
πολὺν ἀγῶνα καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας καταβαλλόμενον (καὶ γάρ
ἦν πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐχήμασιν ἔτι καὶ θείοις ἐμπρέπων δι-
δάγμασιν καὶ τῇ περὶ τῶν δογμάτων ἀκριβεῖς κεκοσμη|μένος, ἐξ οὗ
70 καὶ μᾶλλον τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ διεδόθη κλέος τοῖς πέρασιν)· 5 εἴτα τοὺς
καθεξῆς ἀρχιερεῖς πάντας τοῦ σωτηρίου λόγου στερρῶς ἀντεχομένους,
ἐξ ὧν αἰεὶ καταρτιζομένη καὶ παιδαγωγουμένη τὴν θειοτέραν παιδευσιν
δαιμονιώδεις καὶ μυσαρὰς πλάνας καὶ δόξας καὶ εἰδωλικὰς εἰκαιομυθίας
τοῖς τιμῶσι τοὺς δαίμονας ἀπεπέμψατο, ὀρθοδόξῳ δὲ διδαχῇ τὴν
75 πίστιν σφραγίσασα, καὶ πᾶν ζιζανιῶδες φυτὸν καὶ αἰρετικὸν καὶ ἀλλό-
φυλον οὕμενοῦν οὐδέποτε τῷ θεῷ σπόρῳ συγκαταμίξασα, καθαρὰν καὶ
ἀκίβδηλον διεσώσατο τὴν εὐσέβειαν. 6 ἥς πολλὰ μὲν ἦν καὶ ἄλλα
γνωρίσματα, ἐξ ὧν ἡ φήμη τὰς ἀφορμὰς λαμβάνουσα λαμπρὸν τὸ περὶ
αὐτῆς ἐκήρυττεν ὄνομα, ἐν δὲ τοῦτο πρῶτον καὶ ἰδιαιτάτον διεδείκνυτο,
80 τὸ ὀρθόδοξον αὐτὴν καὶ εἶναι καὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι καὶ τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἢ περ
τοῖς ἄλλοις σεμνύνεσθαι. 7 ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν ἐκείνην
τὴν πόλιν φιλοπόνως μαθεῖν ἐπεζήτησας, τοῦτο δὲ δυσεπιχείρητόν τε
ὥς ἐμοὶ τῇ τε παρουσίᾳ ὁρμῇ τοῦ λόγου παρὰ μικρὸν ἀνακόλουθον,
ὀλίγα τινά, καὶ οἷς μάλιστα ἔξεστι δοκεῖν ὁρᾶν σε τῶν λεγομένων τὰ
85 πράγματα, τῇ διηγῇσει προσθεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τραπήσομαι
συμφορὰν.

4. Ἔστιν οὖν ἡ πόλις, ὡς εἴρηται, μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐρεῖα, τείχεσι
καὶ προβόλοις συχνοῖς κατωχυρωμένη καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τοῖς οἰκήτορσιν
ὅσον ἐκ τῆς τούτων οἰκοδομῆς παρεχομένη, θαλάσσιον | ἔχουσα κόλπον
90 ἐκ νότου καθηπλωμένον, ὥ καὶ περικλυζομένη τὴν ἐκ πλαγίου πλευρὰν
ταῖς ἀπανταχόθεν εἰσρεούσαις ὀλκάσιν εὐεπίβατον τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν

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After Paul, she had to instruct her that great Martyr and amazing champion of the faith Demetrios, whose relics exude fragrant oil in great abundance.* He too toiled unceasingly on behalf of true piety. He was indeed, in addition to the other virtues of which he could boast, a distinguished theologian, and was endowed with an exact understanding of dogma, whence it came about that even the more so was his fame spread to the ends of the earth.

Then she had a succession of bishops⁹ who all clung steadfastly to the word of salvation. Constantly prepared and instructed by them in religious knowledge, she relegated devilish and abominable errors and opinions and idolatrous mumbo-jumbo to those who honour demons. And protecting the faith with the seal of orthodox teaching, she never ever mixed any tare-like plant, either heretical or heathen with the seed the Lord had sown and preserved pure and unadulterated her piety. And though she had many other marks of distinction which fame also took as a pretext for enhancing her reputation, this one in particular was singled out for special attention, namely, that she was orthodox both in name and in fact,¹⁰ and that it was on this more than on anything else that she prided herself.

But since you asked for detailed information about the physical layout of the city, and that is in my view both a difficult enterprise and one that comes close to conflicting with the present tenor of my discourse, I shall preface my narrative with a few remarks intended to help you picture the objective reality behind my words, before turning to the saga of our misfortunes.

§4. The city is, as has been mentioned, of ample proportions, with extensive walls and fortifications affording the inhabitants the full security associated with such defensive structures. It has its slanting coastline washed by the waters of the gulf which extends southwards to meet it, so that it offers easy access to shipping sailing in from every quarter of the

* The translation renders the Greek 'Myrobletes', a title which was applied to Demetrios and to some other saints.

πορείαν παρέχεται. 2 ὑποκοιλίνεται γάρ τις ἐκεῖσε θαυμαστός λιμὴν, ἀσφαλῶς ὑπτιάζων τοῖς πλωτῆρσι τὴν εἴσοδον, ταῖς ἐκ πνευμάτων παντελῶς ἀπείρατος ταραχαῖς καὶ τὸν ὄρμον ἀκύμονα καθιστῶν. 3 ὃν
 95 ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς θαλάσσης ὁ τεχνίτης ἀπέτεμε· μέσον γὰρ ἀπείρξας διὰ τινος τείχους τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπίρροιαν, συναπείρξεν ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν καὶ τῶν πνευμάτων τὸν κλύδωνα. 4 ἡ θάλασσα γὰρ τῷ βυθῷ φυσωμένη καὶ τὴν ἐκδρομὴν πρὸς τὴν χέρσον ἐρευγομένη, τῷ διαφράγματι τοῦ τῇδε τείχους κωλυομένη, μὴ ἔχουσα τίιν τὴν ἀπει-
 5 λὴν ἐπαφήσει, χωρεῖ τοῖς ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ τείχους μέρεσι, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἡρέμα πῶς ὀλισθῆσαν ζάλης ἀπάσης ἐκτὸς τὸν τοιοῦτον ὄρμον διατηρεῖ. 5 ὁ δὲ δὴ κόλπος ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης ἀποτμηθεὶς διὰ τινος αὐχένος, ἀγκῶνος δίκην προβεβλημένου καὶ ἐπὶ μήκιστον τοῖς ὕδασι διικνου-
 10 μένου, ὃν οἱ κατὰ χώρας Ἐκβολὸν ὀνομάζουσι διὰ τὸ πόρρω που τοῖς ὕδασιν ἐκβεβλήσθαι, στενούμενός τε πρὸς τὴν ἐτέραν ἐξ ἐναντίας χέρσον τῇ τοῦ αὐχένος τούτου καινοτομίᾳ, ἕτερος λιμὴν πελάγιος γίνεται· 6 ἐξ οὗ δὴπερ ἀγκῶνος μέχρις αὐτοῦ τοῦ τείχους τῆς πόλεως κύκλον πανευπρεπῆ τὸ ὕδωρ μιμεῖται, τοῖς ἐφ' ἑκάτερα μέρεσιν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐκτεινόμενον καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν κατὰ βραχὺ συσσελλόμενον. 7 καὶ
 15 ἀφορᾷ μὲν ὁ κόλπος ἐκ νότου | τὴν λοιπὴν θάλασσαν, ἀφορᾷ δὲ τοῦτον ὁμοίως ὁ λιμὴν καὶ τὸν λιμένα ἢ πόλιν. 8 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν λιμὴν τέτρασι γωνίαις ἐμπεριέληπται, ὁ δὲ κόλπος ἐστὶ περιφερής, τὸ κύτος ἔχων διὰ πλείστου βάθους χωροῦν, τὰ πέρατα δὲ καὶ πρὸ πολλοῦ τῆς χέρσου τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ὑδάτων συστείλαντα.

20 5. Ἀλλ' ἐν τούτοις τὸ κατὰ νότον μέρος τῆς πόλεως, τὸ πρὸς βορρᾶν δὲ ὡς λίαν τραχὺ καὶ δύσβατον. 2 ὅρος γὰρ ὑπερκύπτει τοὺς λόφους ὑπερανεστηκός, οὐκ ὀλίγον μέρος καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως τῆς λοιπῆς ὑπεραίρον γῆς, ὡς τὸ μὲν αὐτῆς πεδιάσιμον εἶναι καὶ ταῖς χρεῖαις τῶν ἐνοικούντων κατάλληλον, τὸ δὲ τοῖς βουνοῖς καὶ ταῖς τῶν ὄρων
 25 ἀκρότησιν ἀνατείνεσθαι. 3 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἀδικεῖ τὴν πόλιν ἢ τοῦ ὄρους παράτασις ὡς ἐμπαρέχειν ἄδειαν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀφ' ὕψους ἐπεμβαίνειν καὶ τοῦ τείχους κατεπαμύνεσθαι· ἔδωκε γὰρ ὀλίγην τινὰ σχολὴν ὁ βουνὸς ἐκεῖσε πρὸς τὸ φυλάττεσθαι πᾶσαν ἐπιβουλήν, τῷ διὰ μέσου χώρῳ τὴν εὐχερῇ προσβολὴν ἀποκρούσας. 4 τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἀνατεί-
 30 νεται μέχρι πολλοῦ τὸ ὄρος καὶ ὑπερίδρυται, τοῖς λόφοις καὶ ταῖς χα-

globe. A magnificent deep-water harbour¹¹ adjoins the city, allowing mariners to bring in their ships in safety and berth them in an anchorage undisturbed by wind or wave, which its designer cut off from the rest of the sea. For whilst holding in by means of a wall the volume of sea that had been let in, he contrived to hold off at the same time the stormy waters heaving in from the seaward side. Whenever, in fact, the sea swells up from its depths and spews out a mass of water in the direction of the shore, it is held in check by the wall at this point,¹² and finding nothing at which to direct its threatened onslaught, advances towards the opposite ends of the wall until its heaving mass of water unaccountably subsides, leaving any anchorage thus situated well out of the reach of every storm. At the same time the gulf itself is cut off from the open sea by a sort of isthmus thrust forward like an elbow and reaching very far out to sea, which the locals call the 'Jetty' on account of its jutting out so far into the water. Narrowing, therefore, because of the intrusion of this neck of land, so as to form a strait with its opposite shore, the gulf then becomes a second harbour. From this elbow of land, right up to the city wall, the water sweeps in a magnificent curving shape, which is bounded longitudinally by a long stretch of facing shores and contracts slightly in width as it approaches the city. And the gulf looks out due south upon the high seas, the harbour looks out upon the gulf and the city on the harbour. But whereas the harbour is enclosed by four corners, the gulf is rounded, with a very deep sea bed, and with outer ends restricting and confining the flow of its waters even at a great distance from the mainland.

§5. So much for the south side of the city. The terrain on the northern side is rugged and inaccessible in the extreme. A mountain range stoops over it with overhanging ridges and causes a considerable part of the city itself to be situated on high ground, so that whereas one part of it is level and suited to the needs of its inhabitants, the other stretches right up into the hill country and the mountain peaks. But the mountain range does not extend in such a way as to impair the city's defences: it does not allow an enemy to come down from its heights in safety and attack the walls of the city. The structure of the mountain, in fact, makes effective surveillance a relatively easy matter at that point, owing to the virtually impassable nature of the intervening terrain. For it soars aloft in an easterly direction in a ragged

ράδραις ἐντραχυνόμενον, τὴν μεσαιτάτην ἀνατολὴν ἀφορῶν, ἀλλ' ὅσον
 διήκει τὴν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἐπείγόμενον, τοσοῦτον τὰ ἐκ πλαγίου ἐφ'
 ἑκατέρου μέρους ὑποκείμενα διαφεύγει τῆς γῆς. 5 ἐν γὰρ ταῖς δυσὶ
 πλευραῖς τοῦδε τοῦ ὄρους, τοῦ τε πρὸς νότον φημι καὶ τοῦ πρὸς
 35 βορρᾶν, πεδία ὑφήπλωται βάσιμά τε καὶ χρήσιμα, πᾶσαν ἀφορμὴν
 εὐζωΐας τοῖς πολίταις δωρούμενα. 6 ὦν τὸ μὲν ὡς πρὸς νότον τοῦ
 ὄρους, πρὸς ἀνατολὴν δὲ τῆς πόλεως, ὡς λίαν ἐστὶ παγκαλλὲς καὶ
 ἐράσιμον. 7 κεκόσμηται γὰρ δένδρεσιν ἀμφιλαφῆσι, παραδείσοις ποι-
 κίλοις, ὕδασιν ἀπείροις, τοῖς μὲν πηγαίοις, τοῖς δὲ ποταμίοις, οἷς αἱ
 40 λόχμαι τοῦ ὄρους τῷ πεδίῳ χαρίζονται καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ δεξιοῦνται τὴν
 θάλασσαν. 8 ἄμπελοι γὰρ ἀλλήλαις παραπεφυτευμένοι τὰ χωρία
 στεφανοῦσι καὶ τὸν φιλόκαλον ὀφθαλμὸν τῇ πληθύνει τῶν καρπῶν εἰς
 εὐφροσύνην προτρέπονται. 9 μοναὶ δὲ μοναχῶν πολλαὶ καὶ συχναὶ τό-
 τε ὑπτιάζον τοῦ ὄρους καὶ τὸ τῆς λοιπῆς γῆς ὑποκείμενον κατοικοῦσαι,
 45 καὶ τισι τερπνοτάτοις χωρίοις ἐγκαθεζόμεναι, καινόν τι χρῆμα τοῖς τε
 ὀδίταις καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς πολίταις πεφύκασιν. 10 τὸ δὲ κατὰ λαιὰν πλευ-
 ρὰν τοῦ ὄρους πεδίων ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτὸ τεταμένον εἰς μῆκος πολὺ, εὐρύνεται
 δὲ μέχρις ἄλλων ὁρέων· οὗτινος ἐν μέσῳ πελαγίζονται δύο τινὲς εὐρεῖαι
 λίμναι, τὸ πλεῖστον τούτου διακατέχουσιν καὶ τίνα μεγάλην καὶ αὐταὶ
 50 συνεισφέρουσιν χρεῖαν. 11 τρέφουσι γὰρ ἰχθύας καὶ μικροὺς καὶ μεγά-
 λους, καὶ τοῖς εἶδεσι διαφόρους καὶ πολλοὺς τῷ πλήθει, ταῖς τε γείτοσι
 κώμαις καὶ αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ πόλει δαψιλεστάτην ἀποπληροῦντας τράπε-
 ζαν. 12 καὶ γὰρ οἷον φιλονεικοῦσιν αἱ λίμναι ταῖς τούτων ἐπιδόσεσι
 πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἀμιλλῶνται τίς αὐτῶν τὸ πλεῖον παράσχηται.
 55 13 πλήν ἑκάτεραι νικῶνται ἐξ ἑκατέρων, καὶ ἡ νικῶσα οὐκ ἔχει τίτι τὴν
 ἡτταν καταψηφίσεται. 14 τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τοῦ πεδίου ἀνεῖται τοῖς
 γεωργοῖς, παραχωρεῖται τοῖς ζώοις, τοῖς τε πειθομένοις ταῖς τῶν ἀν-
 θρώπων τέχναις καὶ τοῖς ἐλεύθερον ἀφιεῖσι τὸ ἶχνος τοῖς ὄρεσιν. 15 ἔλα-
 φοι γὰρ τὰ ὄρη λιποῦσαι καὶ ταῖς λίμναις ὥσπερ τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπιτερ-
 60 πόμεναι ὁμοῦ τε ἔχουσιν ἄφθονον τὸ ποτόν, καὶ ταῖς βουσίην ἐν αὐτῷ
 συναγελαζόμεναι κοινὰ τὰ σῖτα προσφέρονται.

6. Ἄλλ' ἱκανῶς ἐν τούτοις τά τε πρὸς ἀνατολὴν καὶ βορρᾶν τῆς
 πόλεως, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τὰ πρὸς νότον διαγραφάμενοι τὴν πρὸς δύσιν
 αὐτῆς τοῦ χώρου θέσιν κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἱστορήσωμεν. 2 ἔστιν ἑτε-
 65 ρον πεδίων, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ τείχους τῆς Ἐκβολῆς ἀπαρχόμενον, τῇ δεξιᾷ
 τοῦ ὄρους ἀπτόμενον, τῇ λαιᾷ δὲ τῇ θαλάσῃ συνομοροῦν, ἀμύθητον

formation of ridges and ravines. Yet the more it races on due east the more it removes itself from the low-lying areas forming its flanking slopes on each side. On two sides of the mountain, in fact, namely the southern and the northern, there stretches an expanse of low-lying plain land which is both easily reached and easily exploited and provides the citizens with all the necessary means of subsistence.

The plain which is situated to the south of the mountain and to the east of the city is extraordinarily beautiful and attractive. It is singularly blessed with huge shady trees, multicoloured gardens and an abundant supply of water from both springs and rivers which the mountain thickets bountifully bestow upon the plain and which extend a hand in welcome to the sea herself. Vines planted side by side wreath the fields in dense array and urge the beauty-loving eye to gladness with the multifarious clusters of their fruit. Large numbers of monasteries, perched on tablelands, nestling in valleys or ensconced in especially delightful locations, add a novel touch for wayfarer and citizen alike. On the left-hand side of the mountain¹³ lies another plain. It too runs to a very great length and stretches back as far as another group of mountains. In the middle stand two wide lakes,¹⁴ which take up most of the plain, but also contribute greatly to the necessities of life, by supporting huge numbers of fish both large and small and of many different species. These keep the tables of the neighbouring villages and indeed of the city itself abundantly supplied. It is almost as though the lakes were competing with the sea in this kind of benefaction and were vying also with each other to see which would produce the greater quantity. But it is a competition from which no clear winner emerges to taunt the loser with defeat. The rest of the plain is given up to agriculture and to animal husbandry, providing a habitat both for the obedient animals of the field and for the freely-roaming creatures of the mountain. Deer, in fact, come down from the mountains, rejoicing at the sight of water in the lakes, where they drink their fill and mingle with the herds of cattle for a common meal.

§6. We have given an adequate description of the eastern and northern parts of the city and also of the southern part. Now let us try to depict as best we can the general layout of the western part. There is another plain which starts at the Jetty Wall, follows the contour of the mountain on the right, borders the sea on the left¹⁵ and presents the

7. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐλθόντων μακρὸν, ἡ ὥς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς | ὑπερχόλην, τὸν περὶ τούτων παρὰ τὴν ἀλογίαν. 2 πεποικηκε δὲ τούτο ὁ περὶ τὴν παρὶς πόθος, ἡδέως τῇ τε μνητῇ συνεφεκόμενος, καὶ ταῖς ἀνα-

58 70 75 80 85 90 95 100 105 110 115 120 125 130 135 140 145 150 155 160 165 170 175 180 185 190 195 200 205 210 215 220 225 230 235 240 245 250 255 260 265 270 275 280 285 290 295 300 305 310 315 320 325 330 335 340 345 350 355 360 365 370 375 380 385 390 395 400 405 410 415 420 425 430 435 440 445 450 455 460 465 470 475 480 485 490 495 500 505 510 515 520 525 530 535 540 545 550 555 560 565 570 575 580 585 590 595 600 605 610 615 620 625 630 635 640 645 650 655 660 665 670 675 680 685 690 695 700 705 710 715 720 725 730 735 740 745 750 755 760 765 770 775 780 785 790 795 800 805 810 815 820 825 830 835 840 845 850 855 860 865 870 875 880 885 890 895 900 905 910 915 920 925 930 935 940 945 950 955 960 965 970 975 980 985 990 995 1000 1005 1010 1015 1020 1025 1030 1035 1040 1045 1050 1055 1060 1065 1070 1075 1080 1085 1090 1095 1100 1105 1110 1115 1120 1125 1130 1135 1140 1145 1150 1155 1160 1165 1170 1175 1180 1185 1190 1195 1200 1205 1210 1215 1220 1225 1230 1235 1240 1245 1250 1255 1260 1265 1270 1275 1280 1285 1290 1295 1300 1305 1310 1315 1320 1325 1330 1335 1340 1345 1350 1355 1360 1365 1370 1375 1380 1385 1390 1395 1400 1405 1410 1415 1420 1425 1430 1435 1440 1445 1450 1455 1460 1465 1470 1475 1480 1485 1490 1495 1500 1505 1510 1515 1520 1525 1530 1535 1540 1545 1550 1555 1560 1565 1570 1575 1580 1585 1590 1595 1600 1605 1610 1615 1620 1625 1630 1635 1640 1645 1650 1655 1660 1665 1670 1675 1680 1685 1690 1695 1700 1705 1710 1715 1720 1725 1730 1735 1740 1745 1750 1755 1760 1765 1770 1775 1780 1785 1790 1795 1800 1805 1810 1815 1820 1825 1830 1835 1840 1845 1850 1855 1860 1865 1870 1875 1880 1885 1890 1895 1900 1905 1910 1915 1920 1925 1930 1935 1940 1945 1950 1955 1960 1965 1970 1975 1980 1985 1990 1995 2000 2005 2010 2015 2020 2025 2030 2035 2040 2045 2050 2055 2060 2065 2070 2075 2080 2085 2090 2095 2100 2105 2110 2115 2120 2125 2130 2135 2140 2145 2150 2155 2160 2165 2170 2175 2180 2185 2190 2195 2200 2205 2210 2215 2220 2225 2230 2235 2240 2245 2250 2255 2260 2265 2270 2275 2280 2285 2290 2295 2300 2305 2310 2315 2320 2325 2330 2335 2340 2345 2350 2355 2360 2365 2370 2375 2380 2385 2390 2395 2400 2405 2410 2415 2420 2425 2430 2435 2440 2445 2450 2455 2460 2465 2470 2475 2480 2485 2490 2495 2500 2505 2510 2515 2520 2525 2530 2535 2540 2545 2550 2555 2560 2565 2570 2575 2580 2585 2590 2595 2600 2605 2610 2615 2620 2625 2630 2635 2640 2645 2650 2655 2660 2665 2670 2675 2680 2685 2690 2695 2700 2705 2710 2715 2720 2725 2730 2735 2740 2745 2750 2755 2760 2765 2770 2775 2780 2785 2790 2795 2800 2805 2810 2815 2820 2825 2830 2835 2840 2845 2850 2855 2860 2865 2870 2875 2880 2885 2890 2895 2900 2905 2910 2915 2920 2925 2930 2935 2940 2945 2950 2955 2960 2965 2970 2975 2980 2985 2990 2995 3000 3005 3010 3015 3020 3025 3030 3035 3040 3045 3050 3055 3060 3065 3070 3075 3080 3085 3090 3095 3100 3105 3110 3115 3120 3125 3130 3135 3140 3145 3150 3155 3160 3165 3170 3175 3180 3185 3190 3195 3200 3205 3210 3215 3220 3225 3230 3235 3240 3245 3250 3255 3260 3265 3270 3275 3280 3285 3290 3295 3300 3305 3310 3315 3320 3325 3330 3335 3340 3345 3350 3355 3360 3365 3370 3375 3380 3385 3390 3395 3400 3405 3410 3415 3420 3425 3430 3435 3440 3445 3450 3455 3460 3465 3470 3475 3480 3485 3490 3495 3500 3505 3510 3515 3520 3525 3530 3535 3540 3545 3550 3555 3560 3565 3570 3575 3580 3585 3590 3595 3600 3605 3610 3615 3620 3625 3630 3635 3640 3645 3650 3655 3660 3665 3670 3675 3680 3685 3690 3695 3700 3705 3710 3715 3720 3725 3730 3735 3740 3745 3750 3755 3760 3765 3770 3775 3780 3785 3790 3795 3800 3805 3810 3815 3820 3825 3830 3835 3840 3845 3850 3855 3860 3865 3870 3875 3880 3885 3890 3895 3900 3905 3910 3915 3920 3925 3930 3935 3940 3945 3950 3955 3960 3965 3970 3975 3980 3985 3990 3995 4000 4005 4010 4015 4020 4025 4030 4035 4040 4045 4050 4055 4060 4065 4070 4075 4080 4085 4090 4095 4100 4105 4110 4115 4120 4125 4130 4135 4140 4145 4150 4155 4160 4165 4170 4175 4180 4185 4190 4195 4200 4205 4210 4215 4220 4225 4230 4235 4240 4245 4250 4255 4260 4265 4270 4275 4280 4285 4290 4295 4300 4305 4310 4315 4320 4325 4330 4335 4340 4345

beholder with a spectacle of untold beauty. For that part which can claim some proximity to both the city and the sea is plentifully irrigated, decked out with vineyards, copses and gardens and adorned with innumerable dwellings and chapels, most of which have been divided up and held in common by companies of monks, who practise every kind of virtue and live for God alone, towards whom they strive and on account of whom they left the turmoil of civic life and undertook to follow the path that leads to Him alone.

After that, the plain extends inland for a great distance with mostly treeless vegetation, but with good agricultural land. It continues to stretch in a westerly direction until it reaches another range of lofty mountains, at which point is situated a city called Beroea.¹⁶ It is a famous city in its own right both with regard to its inhabitants and to all the other qualities on which a city pins its faith.

In its central portion this plain also contains a mixture of villages,¹⁷ some of whose inhabitants, the Drougoubitai and the Sagoudatoi¹⁸ as they are called, pay their taxes to the city,¹⁹ while others pay tribute to the Scythians²⁰ who live not far from the border.²¹ Yet the villages and their inhabitants live very close to one another, and the close commercial relations²² that are maintained with the Scythians are a considerable asset to the citizens of Thessaloniki as well, especially when both parties stay on friendly terms with each other and refrain from any violent measures that lead to confrontation and armed conflict. They share a common lifestyle and exchange commodities²³ in perfect peace²⁴ and harmony, and this has been their policy for some not inconsiderable time past. Mighty rivers,²⁵ rising from the land of the Scythians,²⁶ divide among themselves the aforesaid plain, and they lavish much abundance on the city through supplying it with fish and through being navigable upstream by seagoing vessels, as a result of which a cunningly contrived assortment of profits from commodities flows down those waters.

§7. But without realizing it, I have overrun the length I had set myself initially for the account of these matters which I promised to give. Nostalgia for my native land is responsible for what has happened, because I was drawn on by happy memories, and I fondly imagined that I was present in

τυπώσεσιν οἷον δοκῶν συνεῖναι τοῖς λεγομένοις, καὶ τὸ πρόθυμον καὶ
 5 ζητητικὸν τῆς σῆς φιλομαθοῦς ἀκοῆς, ἣν ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραθέσθαι πᾶσαν
 ἡμῖν καθυπέσχου, μηδενὸς ἄλλου περισπῶντος αὐτὴν ἢ τοῦδε τοῦ
 διηγήματος ὑποσύροντος. 3 ταῦτα δὲ οὕτως ἔχει. φιλοῦσι γὰρ αἱ τὰ
 ποθούμενα τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκης δεσμοῖς καὶ τὸν λέγοντα περὶ
 αὐτῶν κατέχειν καὶ τὸν ἀκούοντα· καὶ οὐκ ἂν οὕτως εὐχερῶς καὶ ῥαδίως
 10 οὔτε ὄψις τῶν ἡδίστων θεαμάτων οὔτε ἀκοή τῶν τερπνῶν ἀποστήσεται
 ἀκουσμάτων, οὔτε λόγος ἡδύς τῆς ὁρμῆς ἀνακοπήσεται, μέχρις ἂν φθάσῃ
 τὸ πέρας πρὸς ὃ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπείγεται. 4 πλὴν εἰ δοκεῖ, καὶ πάλιν
 ἀναδράμωμεν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν πόλιν· μέχρι γὰρ τίνος ὥς ἐν
 κατόπτρῳ τὸν ἀνδριάντα διαμορφοῦμεν, καὶ ταῖς ἔξωθεν τῶν χρωμάτων
 15 ποικιλίαις ἀπεικονίζειν πειρώμεθα τὸ ἀρχέτυπον, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνους
 ἐντυχεῖν διὰ τῶν καιρίων διηγημάτων τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὥς ἂν γνωριμώτε-
 ρον εἶη τὸ ἀμυδρῶς πως παραδηλούμενον; 5 Θεσσαλονίκην γάρ, ὅποια
 τυγχάνει, τῷ λόγῳ διαγράψαι καθ' ὅσον οἷόν τε κατ' ἀρχὰς ὑποσχόμε-
 νοι, καὶ τίς οὔσα πρότερον εἰς τί κεχώρηκεν ὕστερον, τοῖς περὶ αὐτὴν
 20 ὥσπερ ὑποκλαπέντες, καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν, ὥς ἂν εἴποι τις, μέχρι τοῦδε
 σχολάσαντες διηγήμασι, κινδυνεύομεν βραδύνοντες τὴν τῶν καιρίων
 ἐξήγησιν. 6 χρεῶν οὖν ἔστι καὶ πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπανιέναι τῷ λόγῳ
 καὶ τὸ πρῶτον περὶ | αὐτὴν καταμαθεῖν κάλλος, εἴθ' οὕτω γε τοῦ πάθους
 ἐξειπεῖν ἐν ὑστέρῳ τὸ μέγεθος, ἵνα ὅσον φανείῃ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων
 25 ἀσυγκρίτως ὑπερτερεύουσα, τοσοῦτον ἀξία κριθεῖη παρὰ πασῶν θρηνεῖ-
 σθαι καὶ κατοικτίζεσθαι.

8. Εἵπομεν ὥς εὐρεῖά τις ἔστι καὶ μεγάλη ἡ πόλις καὶ τῷ περιέχοντι
 πολὺν τὸν διὰ μέσου χῶρον ἐναποκλείσασα. 2 ἄλλ' ὅσον μὲν τοῦ
 τείχους τὴν χέρσον ἀποσκοπεῖ, ἐρμυνότατόν τέ ἐστι καὶ τῷ πάχει τῆς
 30 οἰκοδομῆς κατωχυρωμένον, τῷ ἔξωθέν τε προτειχίσματι τὸ ἀσφαλές
 πάντοθεν συντηροῦν, προβόλοις καὶ ἐπάλξεσιν ἅπαν καταπεπυκνωμένον,
 καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀνάγκην φόβου τοῖς οἰκήτορσι παρεχόμενον. 3 τὸ δὲ πρὸς
 νότον αὐτοῦ χθαμαλὸν τέ ἐστι παντελῶς καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἀπαράσκευνον·
 οἶμαι γὰρ τῷ μηδεμίαν ὑφορᾶσθαι προσβολὴν βλάβης ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς
 35 θάλασσαν ὃ τεχνίτης πάλαι τῆς οἰκοδομῆς κατημέλησε. 4 φέρεται δέ τις
 καὶ παλαιὸς λόγος μέχρις ἡμῶν φθάσας, ὥς ἀτείχιστος ἦν ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ

the places I described. Also to blame was the eagerness and insistence of your request for information when you promised me your full and undivided attention from the outset. That, indeed, is how matters stand: a common urge tends inevitably to hold in a common bond of compulsion both listener and narrator. And in fact, neither sight nor hearing will easily be parted from what they most enjoy, nor will the speaker abate his ardour until he has told his tale.

But if you think that we should, let us return directly to the subject of the city. To what lengths should we go in endeavouring to give shape to a pale reflection or in attempting through the superficial application of different colours to produce a pictorial likeness of the original, when it is in our power to get right to the heart of the matter by employing a narrative technique that seizes upon essential detail and puts the dimly apprehended into sharper focus? And all the more so in view of the fact that, although we promised initially to convey as clear a picture as we could of Thessaloniki, of what she was and of what she has subsequently been reduced to, we have been led astray in our description and have so far been engaged in painting a broad and leisurely narrative canvas full of irrelevancies and have created the distinct impression that we are in no hurry to give an account of the things that really matter. And so we must return once more to her in our narrative account, learn first the full extent of her beauty and then give voice to the magnitude of the disaster which has overtaken her, in order that all other cities may think fit to join in lamenting and bewailing her fate as loudly as her evident and incomparable superiority demands.

§8. I pointed out that she is a city of considerable dimensions and encompasses an ample territory. The parts of the wall that face land are extremely well fortified and of massively thick construction, with a complete system of outworks maintaining an additional safe area, and are everywhere reinforced by a series of wall towers and battlements, so as to leave the inhabitants no occasion for fear. But the part that faces south is low, and totally unequipped to deal with a military threat. I think that through his not even remotely suspecting the possibility of a serious seaborne assault, the designer of the fortifications long ago neglected to do his job here. There is, moreover an old tradition which has come down to us, to the effect that, on that side, the city was for long years completely unwalled, and that it was

μέρους ἢ πόλιν χρόνους πολλούς, εἰ μὴ τῷ δέει ποτὲ τοῦ Μήδων Ξέρξου, πλωτὴν γῆν τεκτιναμένου καὶ κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος στρατοπεδεύσαντος καὶ πολλῶν νηῶν πληθὺν ἐπιφερομένου, ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὰ σκῆπτρα
 40 κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς ἰθύνων μικρόν τινα καὶ ὥς ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος φραγμὸν τῷ τῆδε περιέθηκε μέρος. 5 ἀφ' οὗ δὴ χρόνου καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο διαμεμένηκεν, οὐδέποτε τῆς ἐκεῖθεν βλάβης, ὡς ᾤετο, κἂν ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ | τισὶν ἐσομένης. 6 εἰ γὰρ καὶ πολλοὺς πολλακίς ἀνέτλη πολέμους καὶ λίαν σφοδροτάτους ἢ πόλιν, τοὺς τε ἐκ τῶν βαρβά-
 45 ρων καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν συνομορούντων Σκυθῶν, πᾶν εἶδος ἀμυντηρίων κατ' αὐτῆς ἐπινοουμένων καὶ ψάμμου δίκην τῷ πλήθει τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰσρεόντων καὶ μηδὲν ὑποφέρειν τὴν ἀπειλήν αὐτῶν φιλονεικούντων (καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἦσαν ἀκάθεκτοι ταῖς ὁρμαῖς καὶ ποικίλῃ τινὶ πανοπλίᾳ πεφραγμένοι), 7 ἀλλ' ἦν ἄρα περίγειος ὥσπερ ἡ μάχη καὶ διέφευγε
 50 τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τοῦ τείχους τὴν ἔφοδον ὑπεκκλίνας καὶ τῷ συνήθως αὐτῇ καὶ θερμῶς ὑπερμαχοῦντι, λέγω δὴ τῷ πανενδόξῳ μάρτυρι Δημητρίῳ, τὴν ἑαυτῆς σωτηρίαν καταπιστεύουσα. 8 ἐκ πολλῶν γὰρ αὐτὴν κινδύνων ὁ σωσίπατρις οὗτος ἐρρύσατο καὶ τὸ νικᾶν αὐτῇ καὶ μήπω τοῦ πολέμου πειραθείσῃ πολλακίς συμπαθῶς ἐδωρήσατο. 9 ἀλλὰ
 55 ταῦτα ταῖς τῶν θαυμάτων αὐτοῦ βίβλοις ἐξηγεῖσθαι παραχωρήσαντες τοῖς ἑξῆς ἡμεῖς τῶν ἤδη λεχθέντων προΐωμεν.

9. Ἦν οὖν ταῖς ῥηθείσαις αἰτίαις ἀνωτέρα κινδύνου παντὸς ἡ πόλις. 2 ἐξ οὗτο γὰρ ἡ κολυμβήθρα τοῦ θεοῦ βαπτίσματος τὸ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἔθνος τῷ χριστωνύμῳ λαῷ συνεμόρφωσε καὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας γάλα
 60 κοινῶς ἀμφοτέροις διείλετο, πέπαυτο μὲν ἡ τῶν πολέμων στάσις, ἀνεῖτο δὲ τῆς ἐνεργείας ἡ τὰς σφαγὰς ἐπιτηδεύουσα μάχαιρα, καὶ τὰ προλεχθέντα τῷ μεγαλοφωνοτάτῳ τῶν προφητῶν Ἡσαΐα ἐναργῶς ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐπληροῦτο· 3 αἱ μάχαιραι γὰρ | ἡμῶν μετῆλθον εἰς δρέπανα καὶ αἱ ζιβύνες εἰς ἄροτρα, καὶ πόλεμος ἦν οὐδαμοῦ, καὶ τὴν περίχωρον ἅπασαν εἰρήνην κατεπρυ-
 65 τάνευε, καὶ οὐδεμία ἦν εὐζωΐας ἀφορμὴ ἧς οὐκ εἰς κόρον ἡμεῖς ἀπελαύομεν,

On the Capture of Thessaloniki

only when the Persian king Xerxes had caused panic, by making the land navigable,²⁷ and by campaigning against Greece with a multitude of ships, that the then ruler of the Romans had a hastily improvised fortification erected there. From that time to the present day this fortification has remained the same, on the ground, as was erroneously supposed, that it would never even enter into anyone's head to inflict damage from that quarter. Admittedly, the city did sustain the clash of much fierce fighting on numerous occasions both from the barbarians and from the Scythians whose territory adjoins theirs. These peoples used every kind of armament against her as their armies poured in, as numberless as sand, and grimly determined that nothing should endure the shock of their arms. And in truth the fury of their onslaught knew no bounds, and they were clad in every kind of defensive armour. Yet the fighting was land-based, so to speak, and she repeatedly foiled their treacherous designs and kept them at bay with the strength of her walls and by entrusting her safety to the champion who ever and ardently fought on her behalf: I refer of course to the all-glorious martyr Demetrios. For this saviour of our homeland rescued her from many dangers and in his loving kindness often bestowed victory upon her when she had not yet even been put to the test of battle. But let us leave the explanation of these matters to the books in which his miracles are related,²⁸ and proceed with the continuation of our narrative.

§9. The city was proof against any danger for the reasons stated. And in fact, ever since the sacrament of baptism had brought the Scythian people into the Christian fold and had made them share in the milk of true piety, the tumult of war died down,²⁹ the murderous blade abandoned its work of butchery and the predictions of that mightiest voice of prophecy, Isaiah, were in our own times clearly fulfilled: for our 'swords were transformed into pruning hooks, and our spears into ploughshares',³⁰ and war was in no place, and peace governed³¹ all the neighbouring territory and there was no material resource of which we did not enjoy a superfluity - on the one hand

ἔνθεν αἱ τῆς γεωργίας ἀφθονίαι, ἐκεῖθεν αἱ τῆς ἐμπορίας χορηγίαι. 4 γῆ
 γὰρ καὶ θάλασσα λειτουργεῖν ἡμῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταχθεῖσαι πλουσίαν καὶ
 ἀδάπανον τὴν περὶ ἕκαστον ἐδωροφόρουν. ὦν γὰρ ἦν ἐνδεῶς ἢ καὶ
 ἀνεπιτηδείως ἔχουσα πρὸς καρπογονίαν ἢ γῆ, τούτων παρ' ἑαυτῆς ἢ
 70 θάλασσα τὴν κτῆσιν μηχανωμένη καὶ ταῖς ὁλκάσι συνεισκομίζουσα
 ἀνευδὲς τὸ λείπον ἐδίδου τοῖς χρήζουσι. 5 τί δὲ τῶν ἀπανταχόθεν
 ἐπιδημούντων εἴποιμι πρῶτον, καὶ μάλιστα οἷς ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο τοὺς πολί-
 τας ἡμᾶς, τὰ παρ' ἑαυτῶν διδόντες καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀντιλαμβάνοντες;
 6 λεωφόρου γὰρ δημοσίας τῆς πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἀγούσης ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως διὰ
 75 μέσου· τῆσδε χωρούσης τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀναγκαίως πειθούσης τοὺς
 παροδεύοντας πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐνδιατρίβειν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν πορίζεσθαι,
 πᾶν ὅτιοῦν ἂν εἴποι τις τῶν καλῶν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκαρπούμεθά τε καὶ προσ-
 εκτώμεθα. 7 ἔνθεν καὶ παμμιγῆς τις ὄχλος ἀεὶ περιστοίχει τὰς ἀγυῖας
 τῶν τε αὐτοχθόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλως ἐπιξενουμένων, ὡς εὐχερέστερον εἶναι
 80 ψάμμον παράλιον ἐξαριθμεῖν ἢ τοὺς τὴν ἀγορὰν διοδεύοντας καὶ τῶν
 συναλλαγμάτων ποιουμένους τὴν μέθοδον. 8 ἐντεῦθεν χρυσίου καὶ ἀργυ-
 ρίου καὶ λίθων τιμικῶν παμπληθεῖς θησαυροὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐγίνοντο, καὶ
 τὰ ἐκ Σηρῶν ὑφάσματα ὡς τὰ ἐξ ἐρίων τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπινενόητο. 9 περὶ
 γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ὑλῶν, χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου κασσιτέρου τε καὶ μολύβδου
 85 καὶ ὑέλου, οἷς αἱ διὰ πυρὸς τέχναι τὸν βίον συνέχουσι, καὶ μνησθῆναι
 μόνον παρέλκον ἡγοῦμαι, τοσούτων ὄντων ὡς ἄλλην τινὰ δύνασθαι
 πόλιν δι' αὐτῶν δομεῖσθαι τε καὶ ἀπαρτίζεσθαι.

10. Οὕτω δὲ πανταχόθεν εὐθηνουμένη καὶ πλεονάζουσα, ταῖς τεχνι-
 καῖς τε καλλυνομένη μεθόδοις καὶ ταῖς τῶν οἰκημάτων ὑπερηφανευομένη
 90 λαμπρότησιν, ἄρα ταῖς ἐκ νόμων παρατηρήσεσιν ἢ ταῖς περὶ τὸ πολί-
 τευμα τάξεσιν ἢ ταῖς περὶ λόγους αὐχήσεσιν ἐφαίνετο τῶν ἄλλων ἐνδεῶς
 ἔχουσα; οὐμενοῦν· 2 ἐσπουδάζετο γὰρ αὐτῇ γνῶσις ὡς ὀφθαλμοῖς
 βλέψις καὶ εὐνομία ὡς ζωῆς πραγματεία. 3 καὶ εἶδες ἂν περὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο
 τὴν νεάζουσαν τῶν παίδων κήραν σχολάζουσαν ἢ περὶ λόγους, ἐξ ὧν
 95 ἐπιστῆμαι καὶ τέχναι τὸ κράτος ἔχουσι. 4 τὰ δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀρμονίου
 μουσικῆς τῶν ᾠσμάτων, ἢ τῶν ᾄδόντων τὰ ψυχοτερπῆ μέλη καὶ τῶν τῷ
 θεῷ κεκληρωμένων σπουδάσματα πῶς τῷ λόγῳ σημαίνω; 5 πῶς δὲ
 τὴν τούτων διαγράψωμαι δήλωσιν; μέχρι γὰρ τοῦδε τοῦ διηγήματος
 οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τῇ ῥύμῃ τοῦ λόγου συναπαχθεῖς καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ὥσπερ

the abundance of agriculture, on the other the affluence of commerce. Land and sea were appointed to serve us from of old and rendered sterling service in every particular and at no cost. Whatever the land was deficient in or was not suited to the production of, the sea contrived to procure and convey in merchant ships, making good the deficiency and supplying what was lacking to those who needed it. What particular thing associated with those who flocked from every land to reside amongst us shall I mention first, which in particular of the benefits which they conferred upon us citizens by giving to us what they had to offer of their own and by taking from us what we had of ours to offer them in exchange? Thanks to the fact that a public highway running eastwards from the west passes straight through this city,³² and provides travellers with a very strong inducement for stopping off with us and supplying themselves with everything they need, we made incalculable profits. In consequence, a motley crowd of foreigners and townspeople thronged the streets, so that it was easier to count the sands on the seashore than to count the numbers of those passing through the marketplace and carrying out their various transactions. From this trade a great many private fortunes were made in gold, silver and precious stones, and silk garments were as common an item of manufacture as were woollens elsewhere. Not to mention, of course, the other materials, such as bronze, iron, tin, lead and glass, whereby the crafts that use fire make their livelihood, all of which were in such plentiful supply that another city could have been built and furnished with them.

§10. And so, enjoying prosperity and abundance on every side, priding herself on the skills of her artisans, glorying in the splendour of her buildings, did she by any chance convey the impression of falling below the standard of other cities in her respect for the law or in the upholding of public order or in cultural attainments? Far from it! Learning was as important to her as sight is to the eyes, and orderly conduct was as vital a concern as the conduct of life. And young children could be seen devoting themselves exclusively to the pursuit of letters from which all sciences and crafts derive their strength. But how can I convey in language the effect of setting words to music or the heartwarming melodies the singers sing and the zeal of those who are entirely devoted to the service of God? But how could I set down in writing a meaningful account of these matters? Up to the present point in my narrative I have been somehow carried along by the

- 5 ἰδιωτείας ἐπιλαθόμενος ἐπειρώμην μετρίως πως, καὶ ὥς οὐκ ἂν τις ἄλλος
τῶν λίαν ἀμαθῶν καὶ ἀγροίκων, τῶν παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς αἰτηθέντων
τὴν δῆλωσιν διαγράφεσθαι· 6 τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτου, καὶ μά[λ]ισθ' ὅτι τῆς
εὐρύθμου τῶν ἁσμάτων ἐμνήσθην ἡδυφωνίας, οὐκ οἶδα τίς γένωμαι ἢ ποῖ
τῷ λόγῳ χωρήσω, ποῖον δὲ παραλείπω τῶν ἡδίστων ἐκείνων καὶ εὐτάκτων
10 μελωδημάτων, οἷς συνέψαλλον καὶ συνεόρταζον ἄνθρωποι ταῖς οὐρανίαις
δυνάμεσιν. 7 εἰ γάρ τις τὴν μοῦσαν ἐκείνην, τὴν ἐκ παντὸς στόματος
ὑφ' ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἀναπνευπομένην τοὺς ὕμνους ἐν ταῖς πανδήμοις συναῖεσι,
τῷ ἦχῳ τῶν ἐορταζόντων ἀγγέλων, ἔνθα εὐφραينوμένων πάντων ἢ
κατοικία, ἐξεικονίσαι θελήσειεν, οὐδὲν τοῦ δέοντος ἀμαρτήσεται.
- 15 **11.** Ναοὶ γάρ τινες παμμεγέθεις καὶ περικαλλεῖς τῇ ποικίλῃ διακο-
σμήσει, διὰ μέσου προβεβλημένοι τῆς πόλεως ὥσπερ τινὰ κοινὰ πρὸς τὸ
θεῖον ἐξιλαστήρια, καὶ τούτων μάλιστα ὁ τῆς παντουργοῦ καὶ θείας τοῦ
ὑπερουσίου λόγου σοφίας οἶκος, καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀειπαρθένου πανάγνου καὶ
θεομήτορος, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁ τοῦ προλεχθέντος πανενδόξου καὶ καλλινίκου
20 μάρτυρος Δημητρίου, ἔνθα τοὺς θεῖους ἄθλους διήνυσεν καὶ τὸ βρ[α]βεῖον
τῆς νίκης ἐδέξατο, οἱ καὶ τὸν ἅπαντα δῆμον ταῖς κατὰ περίοδον ἐπανιού-
σαις τῶν ἐορτῶν ἡμέραις ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἐκκλησιάζοντες, ἀνεκκλήτητον
εὐφροσύνην καὶ πνευματικὴν χαρμονὴν τοῖς συνιούσιν ἐβράβευον.
2 **2** ἐκεκλήρωντο γὰρ ἐν ἐκάστῳ τούτων τάγματα ἱερέων, δι' ὧν ἡ μυστικὴ
25 τελεῖται λατρεία, καὶ ἀναγνωστῶν συστήματα, δι' ὧν ἡ τῶν ἁσμάτων
σπουδάζεται ὕμνωδία, ἀμοιβαδὸν τοὺς στίχους ἀλαλάζοντες, καὶ ταῖς
χειρονομίαις τῶν μελῶν τὸν φθόγγον διατιθέντες, καὶ μεγάλην τινὰ καὶ
ἀξιοθέατον χορείαν συνιστῶντες, τῷ τε εἶδει τῆς ἀστραπτούσης στολῆς
τὰς τῶν ὁρώντων θέλγοντες ὄψεις, καὶ τῇ τεχνωμένῃ τῶν ψαλμῶν λύρᾳ
30 τὴν ἀκοὴν κατατέρποντες. 3 τί γὰρ ἦν πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν ὕμνον ὁ
μυθικὸς Ὀρφεὺς ἢ ἡ Ὀμηρικὴ μοῦσα ἢ τὰ τῶν Σειρήνων ληρήματα, τῷ
ψεύδει τῶν πλασμάτων ἀναγραφόμενα, οἷς λόγος μὲν ἐπαίνων οὐδεὶς
ἀληθής, φῆμαι δὲ ψευδεῖς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πλανῶσαι καὶ πρὸς ἀπάτην
ἀνδραποδίζουσαι. 4 μᾶτην οὖν ἐν τούτοις ἐψευδοκτύπησαν Ἑλλήνες,

force of my words, and forgetting my own, as it were, unqualified status, I have made a fair attempt (perhaps a better one than some other boor or ignoramus might have made) at setting forth in writing an intelligible report of the matters requested by your virtuous self.

But from this point onwards, especially when I recall the sweet sound of tuneful airs, I do not know what is to become of me, what direction I am to take in my narrative or which to omit of those sweetest and best ordered of melodies, by means of which human beings would join with the heavenly powers in singing songs of celebration. If one were to liken that music which during the celebration of divine service wells up of one accord from every lip in hymns of praise to God, if one were to liken such music to the sound of the angels 'keeping holyday' in the place where stands 'the abode of all those who rejoice', he would be drawing a perfectly legitimate comparison.³³

§11. Large and exquisitely decorated churches occupy prominent positions in the centre of the city and constitute a sort of public place of intercession with God, by far the most important of them being: the house of the all-fashioning and divine Wisdom³⁴ of the supersubstantial Word, that of the holy and ever-virgin Mother of God³⁵ and that of the previously mentioned all-glorious and splendidly victorious martyr Demetrios, built over the spot where he accomplished his heroic feats in the contest for heaven and received the prize of victory. All these churches would gather unto themselves the entire people throughout the annually recurring succession of holy days and feasts and would bestow upon their congregations ineffable joy and spiritual delight. Each church had its allotted share of priestly offices for the performance of divine service and of the grades of lector to look after the singing of hymns, these latter chanting the responses, using the rhythmic movement of the hand to keep in tune, forming a huge and most impressive choir, dazzling the eye of the beholder with the brilliance of their apparel and entrancing the listener with the vocal music of the psalms. How worthless in comparison with these hymns were the mythical Orpheus, the muse of Homer or the foolish babbling of the Sirens, all of them mere figments of the literary imagination, recorded fantasies and falsehoods with nothing to recommend them, calculated simply to beguile mankind and enslave it to deception! Much vain ranting

35 τὴν ἀληθῆ γινῶσιν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀφηρημένοι καὶ ταῖς κενολογίαις τῆς αὐτῶν δεισιδαιμονίας καθ' ἑαυτῶν ὀπλισάμενοι. 5 ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ τὸ σεβασζόμενον ἦν ἀληθές καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ὑμνούμενον.

12. Ἐνθα δὴ μοι καὶ θάμβος ἐπέρχεται καὶ φρίκη καὶ ἔκπληξις, ὅταν κατὰ νοῦν λάβω πῶς ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ τοσοῦτος ὕμνος, ὁ μήπω τινὶ τῶν
 40 ἄλλων προφερομένων θυσιῶν τῷ μεγέθει ἐξομοιούμενος, ἀθρόον οὕτως ἐσίγησε καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν ἐλογίσθη καὶ ὥς ὄναρ ὑπανεχώρησε. 2 πλὴν γε τοῦτο λογίζομαι, ὅτι ἐν ἀμαρτίαις ὄντες τὰ θεῖα κατὰ τὸν ψαλμῶδὸν ἐδιηγούμεθα δικαιώματα, καὶ τὸ μοχθηρὸν ἡμῶν τῶν τρόπων ἀδόκιμον τὸ περιφανὲς τοῦτο καὶ σεβάσμιον ἀπειργάσατο, ἀνάξιον κρίναντος τοῦ
 45 θεοῦ βεβήλοις καὶ ἐναγέσι χεῖλεσιν ὑμνεῖσθαι τε καὶ γεραίρεσθαι. 3 μέχρι γὰρ τίνος τὴν ἀληθῆ αἰτίαν τοῦ πάντακίνδυνον ἐπενεχθῆναι | ἡμῖν εἰς μέσον οὐ παριστῶμεν, ἵν' ἔχωσι γινῶναι διὰ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑποδείγματος οἱ μετέπειτα ὅπως δεῖ λατρεῦειν θεῷ ζῶντι καὶ ἀληθινῷ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ὑπεράνω παντὸς ὀλέθρου διατηρεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἡμῶν τῆς κακίας ὑπολισθαίνοντες
 50 πλημμελήμασι τὴν θεῖαν ἀγανάκτησιν ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐπισπῶνται. 4 οὐδὲ γάρ ἄλλου τινὸς ἔνεκεν τῆς μεγάλης ἀπειλῆς ἐκείνης, ἥς καὶ μεμνημένος ἐξίσταμαι, διὰ πείρας γεγόναμεν, ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ μοχθηρᾶς καὶ κακῆς προαιρέσεως, 5 εἴτε διὰ τὸ παρηλλαγμένον καὶ διάφορον τῆς τε πολιτείας καὶ τῶν ἡθῶν, τῶν συνεισφερόντων τῇ πόλει ἀνθρώπων ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους καὶ
 55 τόπου ἄλλων ἄλλο τι συνεισφερόντων κακὸν καὶ τούτου τῷ πλησίον μεταδιδόντων 6 (καὶ γὰρ δι' ἣν εἵπομεν ἄφθονον τῶν χρειῶν χορηγίαν οἱ τῶν πλησίον χωρῶν καὶ πόλεων ἄνθρωποι ἐν ταύτῃ τὴν οἴκησιν μετηλλάττοντο, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσοι ταῖς ἤδη προαλωθείσαις νήσοις ἐκ τῆς τῶν δυσωνύμων Ἀγαρηνῶν ἐπιδρομῆς ὑπελείφθησαν, ἐπὶ τήνδε προσ-
 60 ἐφευγον, μηδεμίαν, ὥς ὑπελάμβανον, ἐν αὐτῇ πολεμίων φροντίδα τοῦ λοιποῦ ποιησόμενοι), 7 εἴτε δὲ πάλιν διὰ τὸ ἀνειμένον τῆς τρυφῆς καὶ ἀφρόντιστον καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἡδονὴν ποικίλον τῆς χρείας καὶ ἐπιτήδειον ὥσπερ τινὰ λήθην πεπόνθαμεν τοῦ θεοῦ, μακρὰν τινα καὶ ἀδιεξόδευτον πλανώμενοι πλάνην, καὶ καθὰς φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἕκαστος ταῖς ἰδίαις
 65 ἐπιθυμίαις ἐπορευόμεθα, ἀδεῶς κατὰ πάσης ἀμαρτίας χωροῦντες καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀγούσης μηδεμίαν ποιούμενοι ἐπὶ | μέλειαν.

did the Hellenes expend upon these matters, being wholly bereft of the true knowledge of ultimate reality and arming themselves against themselves with the sound and fury of their own superstition. But the object of our worship was real, as was the subject of our hymns.

§12. I am amazed, horrified and astounded when I consider how hymns of such uniqueness and of a grandeur so far unrivalled by any other form of thank offering have suddenly fallen silent, come to nothing and receded like a dream. But it is my opinion that in the words of the psalmist we 'declared the statutes of God'³⁶ when we were in a state of sin and the wickedness of our ways rendered unacceptable this noble and venerable activity, since God deemed it unworthy that He should receive honour and praise from profane and polluted lips. For how much longer shall we fail to state openly the real reason why every kind of peril has assailed us, so that future generations may learn through our example how one must worship the living and true God and keep oneself beyond the reach of every form of perdition, lest they slide imperceptibly into the same vices as we did and draw down upon their heads the wrath of God? Yes, it was for no other reason that we came to experience the reality of that outrageous threat, the mere recollection of which unhinges my mind, save that of our own wicked and evil choosing. It was a situation brought about in part by the alteration in lifestyle and morals effected as the result of an influx of people from every nation and every region, as different people brought in with them different vices and transmitted them to their neighbours (and, in fact, because of the abundant supply of all needful commodities, which I referred to, people belonging to the neighbouring regions and cities moved to Thessaloniki; and especially those from the islands already captured before,³⁷ who had survived the incursion of the accursed Hagarenes³⁸, fled to this city with the idea, as they imagined, that they would have no need there in future to worry about the enemy); in part it was also brought about by the ease and heedlessness of luxurious living and by pandering to every whim and refinement of a pleasure-seeking existence, as though we had forgotten all about God. And we wandered down a long road which offers no outlet, and as the apostle says, 'we walked each one after his own lusts',³⁹ proceeding boldly along every course of sinfulness and having no regard for the path that leads to virtue.

13. Ποῖον γὰρ εἶδος κακίας, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, ἐν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐπράττετο; πορνείαι, μοιχεῖαι, ἀκαθαρσίαι, μίση, ψεύδη, κλοπαί, ἔριδες, φιλονεικίαι, λοιδορίαι, θυμοί, πλεονεξίαι, ἀδικίαι· καὶ ὁ ἀρχηγὸς τῶν κακῶν φθόνος
 70 κοινὸν ἐμμελέτημα κατ' ἐκάστην καὶ ἀγοραίον ἦν. 2 οὐ γὰρ ὅστις ἡμῶν τῷ πλησίον πράξει καλῶς διὰ σπουδῆς εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ὅστις αὐτῷ τῶν ἀβουλήτων ἐπενεγκεῖν τι φρενοβλαβῶς ἐτεκταίνετο. 3 οὐδ' ὅστις ἐκ τοῦ οἰκείου μεταδοῦναι τῷ χρήζοντι τὸ συμπαθές πληρῶν ἐβεβούλητο, ἀλλ' ὅστις ἐκ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου τὸ οἰκεῖον πλεονάσαι πρὸς τὸν ὁμόφυλον
 75 διεμάχετο, κατ' ἀλλήλων εἰρωνευόμενοι, ἀλλήλους πλήττοντες, ἀλλήλους ἐνδιαβάλλοντες, πᾶν ὅτιοῦν κακὸν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἐξευρίσκοντες, ὀρφανούς ἄγχοντες, ὀρίοις χηρῶν ἐπεμβαίνοντες, ἔχθρας συνάπτοντες, δόλους συρράπτοντες. 4 καὶ τί δὴ τὸ τέλος τούτων ἀπάντων; ὁκνῶ μὲν τὴν γλῶτταν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπαφίεναι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἡνεσχόμεν
 80 τῶν ἀλγεινῶν ἐκείνων ὧν ἤδη πεπόνθαμεν καὶ πάλιν ἐπιμνησθῆναι. 5 ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῶν τοιούτων διηγημάτων οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ὑπεκκλίνειν τὴν μνήμην, δι' ὧν τῷ βίῳ καινόν τι καὶ φοβερόν ὑπελείφθημεν ἄκουσμα, λέξων ἔρχομαι τοῦ κινδύνου τὸ μέγεθος, ἵν' εἰδῆς καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι τῆς ἀμαρτίας εἰσὶ τὰ ὀψώνια. 6 ἐν ὅσῳ γὰρ ἐτρυφῶμεν, ἐν ὅσῳ ἐσπατα-
 85 λῶμεν καὶ πᾶσιν ἀτόποις διεζῶμεν ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, ὅτε κατὰ τὸ ψαλμικῶς ἄσθὲν πάντες ἐξέκλιναν, ἅμα ἡχρειώθησαν, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἐκζητῶν τὸν θεόν, τότε | τῆς φοβεραῖς ἐκείνης ἐπειράθημεν ἀπειλῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ καταστροφῆς, ἵν' οἰκειότερον εἴπω, ἢ δικαίας ἀνταποδόσεως.

14. Καὶ σκόπει κἀνταῦθα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ φιλόανθρωπον, τοῦ μὴ βουλο-
 90 μένου τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ ὡς τὸ ἐπιστρέψαι καὶ ζῆν αὐτόν. 2 εἰδὼς γὰρ τὸ ἀκάθεκτον καὶ μοχθηρὸν τῆς γνώμης ἡμῶν καὶ ὅτι ἐπιμελῶς ἔγκειται ἡ διάνοια ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρά, τί μηχανᾶται πρὸς τὸ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐπισχεῖν τῆς κακίας καὶ ἐπιστροφῆς ἡμῖν ἐμβαλεῖν αἰτίας; 3 πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἤδη λεχθεῖσαν γείτονα πόλιν, τὴν Βέρροϊαν λέγω, ἐπι-
 95 κατασεισθῆναι πεποιήκε τοῖς περιοίκοις ὡς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐκεῖσε συλληφθέντων ἐξαναλῶσαι, τί διοικούμενος ἐκ τούτου; 4 ἵν' ἡμεῖς πάντως τῶν

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§13. And to tell the truth, what kind of vice was not practised among us? Fornication, adultery, impurity, hatred, lying, stealing, strife, contentiousness, abuse, anger, covetousness, injustice. And the originator of all mischief, envy, was daily the common preoccupation and vulgar pursuit. People were eager to know, not which of us would do his neighbour a good turn, but who was senselessly contriving to inflict upon him something spiteful; not who was prepared to do his charitable duty and share his wealth with the needy, but who was striving to rival his relatives in enriching himself at someone else's expense, engaging all the while in mutual deception, violence, calumny, devising every kind of mischief amongst themselves, strangling orphans, encroaching on the property of widows, stirring up enmity and hatching plots. And what was the outcome of all this? I shrink from giving voice to such momentous events and I could not bear to go over the details of those painful experiences which we have already endured. But since it is not possible to avoid the recital of such events which have left us as a novel and solemn warning to the world, I shall recount the magnitude of the peril which overtook us, in order that you too may learn for yourself what are the wages of sin.⁴⁰ In fact it was just when we were wallowing in luxury and self-indulgence and devoting our lives to the practice of every kind of wrongdoing, when in the words of the psalm, 'all had swerved aside, all alike had become debased' and there was 'no one who seeks God,'⁴¹ that we experienced that fearful threat or rather catastrophe or, more properly speaking, our just deserts.

§14. And consider even at this point the loving kindness of God who does not wish for the death of the sinner but that he should mend his ways and live.⁴² For though He knew our wicked and ungovernable temper and that our minds were set on wrongdoing, what did He contrive in order to check our evil impulse and give us cause for turning back? First of all He caused the neighbouring city which I have already mentioned, I refer to Beroea, to fall down upon its inhabitants, our neighbours, so as to destroy many of those who were gathered there.⁴³ With what end in view? It was in order

ἐτέροις ἀπειλουμένων τὴν αἴσθησιν λαβόντες, τῶν ιδίων κακῶν ἀποχὴν
 καὶ ὅψε' γοῦν ποιησώμεθα καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὰς πράξεις ἰθύνωμεν. 5 εἴτα
 ἐπειδὴ τούτου γενομένου οὐκ ἐνεδώκαμεν τῆς κρατούσης ἐν ἡμῖν παλαιᾶς
 5 συνηθείας, ἐφ' ἕτερον εἶδος μηχανῆς μεταβαίνει, τὴν καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς
 ἔσεσθαι μέλλουσιν ἀμεταμέλητα πράττουσι συμφορὰν ἐν ἄλλοις προϋπο-
 δείξας. 6 Δημητριάς γάρ οὕτω καλουμένη τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἑτέρα πόλις, οὐ
 μακρὰν ἡμῶν ἀπωκισμένη, πολλῶν πλήθει τῶν οἰκητόρων καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 οἷς μέγα καυχῶνται πόλεις τῶν ἐγγιστα ὑπεραιρομένη, οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ
 10 τῆς ἡμῶν ἀλώσεως ἔργον ἐγένετο τῶν βαρβάρων. 7 πολιορκηθεῖσα γὰρ
 ὥς μικροῦ δεῖν πάντας τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἐν μαχαίρᾳ | πεσεῖν, οὐδὲν ἕτερον
 παρῆχε νοεῖν ἢ τοῖς κακοῖς ἡμᾶς ἐπιμένοντας τὴν ὁμοίαν πείραν τῶν
 πραγμάτων ἐκδέχεσθαι καὶ καθάπερ εἰς ἔμψυχον στήλην ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ
 κεχρεωστημένα ἡμῖν ἀναγινώσκειν παθήματα.

15 15. Ἀλλὰ μηδεὶς ἀποφαινόμενόν με οἰέσθω ταῦτα λέγοντα ὅτι δι'
 ἡμᾶς αἱ πόλεις αὗται τῶν φοβερῶν τὴν πείραν ἐδέξαντο. ὠφέλιτο γὰρ
 αὐταῖς, ὥς οἶμαί, καὶ δι' οἰκείαν μοχθηρίαν ὁ κίνδυνος, ὥς καὶ ἡμῖν μετ'
 ἐκείνας, ἀξίας τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἐκάστω τὰς τιμωρίας ἐπάγοντος τοῦ
 θεοῦ. 2 ἀλλ' ἐν τούτοις καὶ ἡμᾶς οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἀφορμὴν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ
 20 κρεῖττον ἐπιστροφῆς καὶ σωτηρίας εὐκόλον ἦν ἐξευρεῖν, τὴν ἐκείνων
 καταστροφὴν οἰκείαν ἀσφάλειαν ποιουμένους. 3 ὅμως ἐπειδὴ τὸν νοῦν
 ἡμῶν εἶδεν ὁ τὰς καρδίας ἐρευνῶν πάσῃ σπουδῇ τῆς ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ ἀγούσης
 ἐχόμενον, μηδεμίαν δὲ τῶν σωτηρίων ἐντολῶν καὶ παιδευτικῶν ἐνεργειῶν
 ὑπολειφθεῖσαν, ἐξ ὧν αἰσθητικὴ καὶ νήφουσα ψυχὴ τὸ καλὸν μετα-
 25 μανθάνει, διαφεύγουσα τῶν χειρόνων τὰς πράξεις, δι' ἃς ἐπέρχεται ἡ
 ὀργὴ ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας, ὥς φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἔδει δὲ τὴν
 κακίαν ἐκτριβῆναι, ἵνα μὴ τῇ ἐπὶ πλεῖον προόδῳ καὶ ἑτέρους λυμαίνοιτο,
 4 διὰ τοῦτο ἀφῆκεν ἡμῖν ἐπενεχθῆναι τὴν φοβερὰν ἐκείνην καὶ φρικώδη
 πληγὴν, ἵν' ὅπερ ἄλλων πασχόντων ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐδιδασκόμεθα, τοῦτο ἡμεῖς
 30 παθόντες ἄλλοις ὑπόδειγμα ποιησώμεθα. |

16. Ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ μακρολογεῖν; καιρὸς γὰρ ἤδη τῶν καιρίων διηγη-
 μάτων ἐφάψασθαι, καὶ ὅπως τὴν ὀδυνηρὰν ἐκείνην πολιορκίαν ὑπέστημεν

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that we, realizing fully the threats that hung over others, might call a halt, albeit belatedly, to our own wickedness and direct our activities to the pursuit of virtue.

Then, when in spite of this event we still showed no signs of relenting or inclination to turn over a new leaf, He turned to another expedient and gave us a prior demonstration in the case of others of what to expect in our own, should we fail to mend our ways.

In fact, another city in Greece, named Demetrias, situated at no great distance from us and superior to its neighbours in size of population and in all the other features on which cities greatly pride themselves, fell victim to the barbarian not long before⁴⁴ the date of our own capture. And the fact that the siege had ended in the massacre of practically all those who had taken refuge there was, moreover, a clear signal to us to reflect that a similar experience awaited us if we persisted in our evil ways and to read as though written up in letters of blood the proclamation of our just deserts.

§15. But let no one suppose that in stating these facts I am suggesting that it was because of us that these cities suffered their terrible ordeal. They too were doomed by their own wickedness, I think, just as we in turn were by ours, for God meets out just punishment to each man according to his sins. Yet, in these events it was an easy matter for us to discover a powerful incentive for turning back to God and seeing the light and making their downfall the means to our own security. Nevertheless, when 'He that searcheth the hearts'⁴⁵ saw that our minds were set on following the path that leads to destruction⁴⁶ and that He had omitted no saving command or act of correction whereby the sober and perceptive soul at last learns virtuous conduct and eschews the deeds of scoundrels 'of which cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience,' as the apostle says,⁴⁷ and wickedness had to be destroyed, lest by its further progress it should harm others, He allowed that dreadful and horrific calamity to befall us. And He did this expressly in order that we might through our own sufferings serve as an example to others of what we had failed to learn from theirs.

§16. But why waste words? The time is ripe for telling a timely tale and describing how we endured the anguish of that siege, so as to provide

παραστήσαι τῷ λόγῳ, ὡς εἶναι τοῖς μετέπειτα νουθεσίας ὑπόθεσιν καὶ
 ἐναργοῦς διδασκαλίας παραίνεσιν. 2 ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ὄντων ἡμῶν ἦκέ
 35 τις ταχυδρόμος ἄγγελος ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων σκῆπτρα,
 Λέοντος τοῦ φιλευσεβοῦς ἀνακτος, τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν βαρβάρων, λέγω δὴ
 τῶν δυσωνύμων Ἀγαρηνῶν, καταμηνύων καὶ ὡς τάχος ὀπλιζέσθαι καὶ
 πρὸς τὴν μάχην ἡμᾶς συσκευάζεσθαι, πρόσφυγὰς τινὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων
 τῶν βαρβάρων ἀφίχθαι λέγων, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτῶν, ἥτις ἐστί, προ-
 40 ειπόντας τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ ὅτι πᾶσαν τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐπὶ τήνδε πεποιήνται, ὑπὸ
 πολλῶν ἤδη τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν προχειρωθέντων βεβαιωθέντες ὡς ἀτείχιστός
 ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν μέρους καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν νηῶν μάχαις
 εὐεπιχειρήτος. 3 ταύτης οὖν ἀγγελθείσης τῆς πονηρᾶς ἀγγελίας, θροῦς
 μὲν ἐγένετο κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ φόβος καὶ τάραχος, ἄσυνήθους
 45 πράγματος καὶ φοβεροῦ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ἡμῶν ἐν ἀρχαῖς προσπεσόντος,
 ἐβουλευσάμεθα δ' ὅμως τὴν οἰκείαν περιποιήσασθαι σωτηρίαν, καὶ ὅσα
 πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων ἄμυναν καταρτίζειν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν
 πόλεμον διεγείρεσθαι. 4 πλήν ἔκαμνε μὲν ὁ λογισμὸς ἐκάστου καὶ ταῖς
 ἄλλαις μερίμναις τῆς ἀπειρίας τοῦ μάχεσθαι, μήπω τοῦ πράγματος ὧν ἔν
 50 πείρα, μὴ δ' ὅπως τὴν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνει δεδιδαγμένος. 5 πλέον δὲ τὸ μὴ
 ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι τὸ τεῖχος ἔνθα καὶ τὴν προσβολὴν ἐσκοποῦμεν, τὰς
 ἀπάντων ψυχὰς κατεβύθιζε. 6 καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὡς ἄληθῶς ὑποπτον, οὐ μόνον
 τοῖς ἀπειροπολέμοις καὶ ἀόπλοις ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς γεγυ-
 μνασμένοις καὶ προαποκειμέναις ἔχουσι τὰς τῶν τοιούτων πραγμάτων
 55 αἰτίας.

17. Ἐβουλευσάμεθα δ' οὖν, εἴ τι καὶ δέοι πράττειν, ἐν αὐτῷ πράττειν
 τῷ τείχει καὶ πρώτης ἔχεσθαι τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀσφαλείας καὶ πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον
 μεταποιήσεως. 2 οὐ συνεβούλευε δ' ἡμῖν τοῦτο τέως ὁ ταύτην ἡμῖν τὴν
 ἀγγελίαν πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως κομίσας (Πετρωνᾶς δὲ οὗτος ἐκαλεῖτο, τῷ
 60 καταλόγῳ τῶν πρωτοσπαθαρῶν ἐναριθμούμενος, ὃς ἦν ἐπιτετραμμένος
 ἐγχρονίσαι μικρὸν τῇ πόλει καὶ τινος αὐτῇ μεταδοῦναι βοηθείας καὶ
 δεούσης ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι συνεργείας), ἄλλην δὲ τινα σοφωτάτην ἔλεγεν
 ἐξευρεῖν ἐπίνοιαν, ὡς λίαν ἐνεργῇ καὶ σωτήριον, εἰ μὴ καὶ ταύτης αἱ
 προοδοποιούσαι τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν ἀπώλειαν ἀμαρτίαι ἀναίρεσιν καθυπέ-
 85 βαλον. 3 ἐλλόγιμος γὰρ ὧν ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ πολλὴν πραγμάτων ἐσχηκὼς
 πείραν, καθ' ἑαυτὸν συνιδὼν ὡς εἰ θελήσοι τοῦ τείχους τῆς οἰκοδομῆς

a clear and unmistakable warning for the advice and enlightenment of future generations.

It was precisely at this juncture that a messenger from the ruler of the Roman world, the most pious emperor Leo,⁴⁸ arrived post haste with news of the approach of the barbarians, I mean of the accursed Hagarenes, and advised us to arm and put ourselves on a war footing with all possible speed. He said that fugitives from the hands of those barbarians had arrived and had given the emperor prior information concerning their strategy,⁴⁹ to the effect that they were now concentrating all their energies for a projected attack on the city, since they had been assured by many of those whom they had previously defeated that it was practically unwallled on the seaward side and would be an easy target for a seaborne attack. Once these dreadful tidings had been received, confused and panic-stricken rumours were rife throughout the city. But though, at first, the unaccustomed and terrifying character of the event filled our ears with consternation, we nevertheless resolved to ensure our own safety, to take defensive measures against the enemy and to be on the alert for a possible confrontation. And each man's mind was weighed down by all the usual anxieties aroused by military inexperience, since he had as yet no experience of actual combat or even of the rules of engagement. But most of all it was the inadequacy of the wall just at the point where we contemplated an attack that caused all our hearts to sink. That indeed was the source of considerable unease, not just for men like ourselves with no experience of weapons or of warfare, but even for those with military training and firsthand knowledge of the principles that govern such matters.

§17. We decided, therefore, to concentrate on the wall, and to make its security and reinforcement our first priority. But in the meantime the man who had delivered the message from the emperor advised us not to do so. His name was Petronas, and he held the rank of *protospatharios*.⁵⁰ He had been instructed to spend a short time in the city and give it such assistance and cooperation as circumstances required. He said, however, that he had devised a particularly ingenious alternative strategy (and it would have been extremely effective and proved our salvation, had not our sins prepared our destruction in advance and frustrated its accomplishment). Being a man of note with an extensive experience of practical matters, he could see for himself that if he decided to superintend the building of the wall, he would

- ἐπιμεληθῆναι, καὶ κόπους παρέξει τῇ πόλει καὶ πλεον οὐδὲν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ περὶ τούτου φροντισάντων ὀνήσειεν, ἐφ' ἕτερον εἶδος ἀσφαλείας (καὶ σκόπει πῶς εὐφυὲς καὶ ἀρμόδιον) τὸν νοῦν μετηγάγετο. 4 εἰδὼς
- 70 γὰρ ὡς ἅπαν περικλύζεται τὸ κατὰ νότον μέρος τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ τῶν θαλασσίων ὑδάτων, ἐκείθεν δὲ προσπίπτοντος τοῦ πολέμου εὐχερῶς ἔχειν τοὺς βαρβάρους πᾶν ὅτιοῦν βούλονται ἂν ἐν αὐτῷ διαπράξασθαι, μηδεὶν κωλύοντος | αὐτοὺς ὑπεράνω τῆς οἰκοδομῆς γενέσθαι τοῦ τείχους διὰ τὸ πρόσγειον καὶ χθαμαλωτάτην εἶναι τὰς τε νῆας μᾶλλον ὑπερανέχειν
- 75 ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ πρῦμναν μέρους, καὶ ἀπὸ μετεώρου δύνασθαι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσιν ὄντας κατατιτρώσκειν, 5 ἐβουλεύσατο φραγμόν τινα καὶ τετεχνημένην ἐνέδραν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγκρύψαι τοῖς ὕδασιν, ὡς ἂν καὶ τῇ πόλει τὸ ἀσφαλὲς καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐμπόδιον κατ' αὐτὸ γένηται. 6 πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐκ μονολίθου γεγλυμμένοι τύμβοι κατὰ τε τὸ πρὸς ἀνατολήν καὶ
- 80 δύσιν μέρος τῆς πόλεως, ἐν οἷς πάλαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκροὺς οἱ τήνδε κατοικοῦντες ἐνεταφιάζον Ἕλληνες. 7 οὗς καὶ συνάγων καὶ τινα παραδόξῳ μεθόδῳ, ἣν αὐτὸς μόνος ἐξεῦρε, τῇ θαλάσῃ βυθίζων, καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ μικροῦ τινος διαστήματος στοιχηδὸν τούτους τοῖς ὕδασιν ὑποκρύβων, θαλάσσιόν τε καὶ ξένον ἔρυμα καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ὕψος τῇ χέρσῳ προβεβλημένου τείχους
- 85 ὀχυρώτερόν τε καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον τῇ ἀληθείᾳ κατετεχνάζετο. 8 καὶ δὴ καὶ εἰς ἔργον ἂν ἐξέβη πᾶσαν ἀσφάλειαν τῇ πόλει περιποιούμενον, ὡς μηδὲ δύνασθαι τὰς νῆας πλησιάσαι τὸ παράπαν καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν μεταδοῦναι βλάβης, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο διὰ τὴν μοχθηρίαν ἡμῶν ἐκωλύθη καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν προεχώρησεν.
- 90 18. Ἦδη γὰρ περὶ τὰ μέσα που τοῦ κινδυνώδους τόπου πεφθακότος τοῦ τοιοῦτου διαποντίου φραγμοῦ καὶ πᾶσαν ἡμῶν ὑπόνοιαν ἐπίφοβον καὶ πονηρὰν ὑποτέμνοντος, ἦκέ τις ἕτερος, καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως πεμφθεὶς, τὸν εἰς τοῦτο ταχθέντα Πετρωνᾶν σπουδαίως μεταπεμπόμενος καὶ τὴν φροντίδα πᾶσαν τῆς πόλεως | εἰς ἑαυτὸν μετατιθεῖς. 2 Λέων
- 95 δὲ οὗτος ἐκαλεῖτο, πάσης τῆς περιχώρου προχειρισθεὶς στρατηγὸς καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν πρὸς τὴν μάχην εὐτρεπιζομένων πραγμάτων ἀναδεξάμενος. 3 ὧ καὶ ἔδοξε τὴν τοῦ ἔργου τούτου σχολάσαι τέως φροντίδα καὶ τοῦ τείχους τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἐξανύεσθαι. 4 ἅμα γὰρ ἦκε, καὶ μεθίστησιν εὐθύς τὸν δῆμον ἅπαντα τὸν εἰς τοῦτο τεταγμένον πρὸς
- 5 τὸ τὰς χρειώδεις ὕλας τοῖς τεχνίταις ἐπικομίζειν, ὡς ἂν τῇ πολυχειρίᾳ τυχὸν καὶ τῇ τῶν δεόντων δαψιλῇ χορηγία τὸ σπουδαζόμενον εἰς

both wear out the citizens and achieve nothing more than those before him who had concerned themselves with this matter, and so he turned his mind to a different kind of security measure - one that was both simple and appropriate.

Realizing that the whole of the south side of the city is washed by the sea and that, if an attack were mounted from that quarter, the barbarians would easily work their will there, since there would be nothing to prevent them from positioning themselves at a greater height than that of the wall, which was so low that the sterns of their ships would overtop it, and from being able to shoot down from high up at the soldiers manning the battlements, he decided to build a secret underwater fence and artificially contrived ambush to serve at the same time as a safety-net for the city and an obstacle to the enemy. Now, there were large numbers of tombs carved out of single stone blocks on the east and west sides of the city, in which in olden times the pagans who dwelt there buried their dead. He had these collected and by a remarkable method, which was his own special invention, he had them lowered into the sea and hidden underwater at short intervals so as to form a row. Thus, he constructed at sea a novel kind of bulwark, one that in truth was both stronger and safer than the wall which rose up on land. And indeed it would have been accomplished and would have guaranteed the city complete security, so that ships would not have been able to get anywhere near in order to do their damage, except that owing to our wickedness this too was prevented and came to nothing.

§18. But just when the fence designed to cross the seabed had reached a point somewhere around the middle of the threatened area and our fears were beginning to evaporate, along came another envoy from the emperor to take over all responsibility for the welfare of the city and to expedite the recall of Petronas, the man who had been appointed expressly for that purpose. This man was called Leo.⁵¹ He had been appointed strategos of the whole region and put in charge of the entire conduct of operations. He decided to call a temporary halt to the work on the fence and to have the building up of the wall completed. As soon as he arrived, in fact, he detailed the entire workforce assigned to this duty to the task of fetching the necessary materials for the builders, in the hope that he might perhaps attain his objective through sheer force of numbers and abundance of material

ἔργον ἄγοιτο. ἤδη μὲν οὖν πάλιν τὰ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς ἦν ἐνεργῇ. 5 ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐδόκει τὸ πρὸς ὕψος ἐγειρόμενον τοῦ τείχους τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπειργεῖν κακόνοιαν, τοσοῦτον ἐφαίνετο τὸ λείπον τοῖς πολίταις ἡμῖν
 10 παντὸς κινδύνου καθυπεμφαῖνον ὑπόνοιαν. 6 οὔτε γὰρ ἅπαν διορθωθῆναι δυνατῶς εἶχε πολλῷ μήκει διατεινόμενον πρὸς τὸ μηκέτι τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ συμφορὰν ἡμᾶς ὑποπτεῦειν, καὶ ὁ χρόνος τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἔφοδον ἐφεστάναι προεμαρτύρατο μήπω τοῦ μέσου χώρου τῆς οἰκοδομῆς ἀψαμένης, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὴν βλάβην ὑποπτευόμεθα. 7 ἀγγελίαι
 15 γὰρ τῶν προτέρων φοβερώτεραι καὶ συχνότεραι τὰς ἀπάντων ἡμῶν ἀκοὰς περιεθύλλουν, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐγγίξειν ἤδη τὸ πλείστον τοῦ πλοὸς διανύσαντας. 8 οὐκ ἦν γὰρ ὅπου καὶ πρὸς μικρὸν αὐτοὺς ἐμβραδύναι, διὰ τὸ τὰς πλείονας νήσους ὑπ' αὐτῶν προεκπορθηθῆναι, καὶ τὰς πρὸς θάλασσαν ἔχουσας πόλεις τὴν οἴκησιν τῇ καταπλήξει
 20 μόνη τῆς ἀκοῆς αὐτῶν πρὸς φυ|γὴν ἐτραπῆναι, καὶ μηδὲν ὑπάρχειν ὃ τὴν ἔρμην αὐτῶν ἢ τὴν τῶν ὅπλων συνέχειαν ἐξαρκεῖν ὑπομεῖναι. 9 τέτταρας γὰρ ὁμοῦ καὶ πεντήκοντα τὰς βαρβαρικὰς εἶναι προέλεγον νῆας, οὐδὲν ἦττον πόλεως ἐκάστης αὐτῶν τῷ μεγέθει καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις κατασκευαῖς τυγχανούσης, ἐν αἷς ἦν παμμιγῆς τις ὄχλος ἀπονειομένων
 25 καὶ μανιωδῶν, τῶν τε τὴν Συρίαν οἰκούντων Ἰσμηλιτῶν καὶ τῶν ὁμορούντων Αἰγυπτίοις Αἰθιόπων, πάντων αἰμοβόρων καὶ θηριογνομόνων ἀνθρώπων, πολλὴν τὴν ἐν τοῖς φόνοις ἐπιστήμην ἐξησκημένων καὶ ταῖς ληστρικαῖς ἐπινοαῖς τὰς σφαγὰς ἐμμελετησάντων, ὥς μὴ δύνασθαι τινα κἂν ἀκοῇ τὴν τούτων ἐκδέξασθαι πείραν, ἀλλὰ σπεύδειν
 30 ἕκαστον ὑποχωρεῖν τῆς ἐνεγκαμένης, κρεῖττον ἡγούμενον τὴν μετὰ θηρῶν ἀγρίων ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν οἴκησιν ἢ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ληφθῆναι καὶ πολυώδυνον ἀπενέγκασθαι θάνατον.

19. Πλὴν ἐν τούτοις τούτων ἔχόντων πάλιν φοβερώτερός τις τῶν ἤδη λεχθέντων ἐλήλυθεν ἄγγελος, τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν ἔφοδον πλησι-
 35 ἔστερον οὔσαν ἅπασι προδηλῶν. 2 Νικήτας δὲ οὗτος ἐκαλεῖτο, στρατηγὸς τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς βουλευμασιν εὐταξίαν. 3 οὗτος ἐλθὼν συνεπαμῦναι τῇ πόλει κατηγγυᾶτο (εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἔλεγεν ἀφῖχθαι), καὶ εἴ τι δέοι πράττειν, ἐτοίμως ἔχειν καθυπετίθετο. 4 πλὴν ὅτι συνέβη

resources. And so the building work was once again in full swing. But though the raising of the wall seemed to offer some prospect of protection from an enemy bent on our destruction, a strong sense of impending disaster was clearly conveyed to us citizens by the incompleteness of the work of our construction. For the length of the wall was so great that the repairs to it could not be completed in such a way as to guarantee our immediate security, and though an enemy attack could be expected at any moment, the building work had not yet even got half way. And yet it was the central portion which we suspected was most liable to attack. Reports more fearsome and more frequent than the earlier ones filled our ears with the news that the barbarians were approaching and had completed most of their voyage. And there was no place left where they might be held up for even a short time, since most of the islands, had already been captured and pillaged and the inhabitants of the coastal cities had fled in terror at the mere sound of their name. There was in fact nothing capable of standing in their way or of sustaining the shock of their arms. It was surmised that there were some fifty-four barbarian ships, each as big and as well equipped as a city, and manned by a motley crowd of cut-throats and desperadoes, Ishmaelites that dwell in Syria,⁵² and Ethiopians,⁵³ whose country borders on Egypt, a bestial and bloodthirsty band of men, well-versed in the arts of murder and piracy. Mere talk of resistance was more than anyone could bear to listen to, as each man hastened to leave the land of his birth, choosing rather to dwell on the mountains in the company of wild beasts than to fall into the hands of these men and suffer a cruel death.

§19. But just at this juncture a messenger arrived with even more horrific news: he intimated that a barbarian attack was imminent. This man was called Niketas.⁵⁴ He held the rank of strategos and possessed the resolute and disciplined character appropriate to his rank. On his arrival he promised his assistance in the conduct of the city's defence (that, he claimed, was the purpose for which he had come) and stressed his readiness to offer his services whenever these should be required. But while we were

40 τι καὶ τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι μεταξύ τῆς προσδοκίας τῶν πολεμίων ἐξ
 ἔπινοίας τοῦ σκανδαλουργοῦ καὶ | πονηροτάτου δαίμονος. 5 ὁ γὰρ
 ἤδη λεχθεὶς στρατηγὸς τούτῳ δὴ τῷ νεωστὶ παραγενομένῳ Νικήτῃ
 αὐτοῦ που περὶ τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ τείχους κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐντυχὼν ἵππῳ
 ἐφεζόμενος, ὡς τὴν συνήθη πρὸς τὸν φίλον ἔδοξεν ἐκπληρῶσαι τῷ ἀσπα-
 45 σμῷ προσηγορίαν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἵππῳ ἐγκαθεζόμενον, τοῦ ῥυτῆρος ἀμε-
 λήσας δεινὸν τι πέπονθε πρᾶγμα καὶ πολλῶν δακρύων ἐπάξιον. 6 ἐκτα-
 ραχθέντες οἱ ἵπποι, καὶ πλέον οὗτος ἐφ' ὃν ὁ στρατηγὸς κεκαθίκει, τῇ
 φυσικῇ μανίᾳ πληγείς τὸν τε αὐχένα σιμώσας καὶ τὴν κόμην φρίζας, ὀρ-
 θιον ἄρθεις τῆς ἑδρας αὐτὸν ἀπεβάλετο, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς οὐρὰν κυβι-
 στήσας καὶ πρὸς τοῦδαφος ῥίφεις τὸν δεξιὸν τε μηρὸν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν
 50 κοτύλην μέλη θλασθεὶς ἑλεεινὸς ἦν καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ζωῆς ἀπειπών. 7 ὃν
 οἱ τῆς στρατιωτικῆς τάξεως δορυφόροι παραχρῆμα ταῖς χερσὶν ἀνελό-
 μενοι ἀπῆγον οἴκαδε, μηδὲν ὡς εἰκὸς περὶ τῶν προκειμένων πραγμάτων
 τοῦ λοιποῦ φροντιούμενον. 8 ἔκειτο δὴ οὖν ὁ ἀνὴρ ὀδύναις ἀφορήτοις
 βληθεὶς, οὐκ ἔχων ᾧτινι πρῶτον τὸν νοῦν ἐπαφήσει. 9 εἶλκε μὲν γὰρ
 55 αὐτὸν ἡ φροντίς τοῦ προσδοκωμένου κινδύνου, πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον
 περισώσει τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιδρομῆς τῶν βαρβάρων. 10 ἀνθεῖλκε
 δὲ τοῦτον πρὸς ἑαυτὸν πλέον ἢ δριμεῖα ὀδύνη καὶ τὸ θάνατον ἀπειλεῖν
 τῶν πληγέντων μελῶν τὸ πάθος, καὶ ἀνέπειθε μηδὲν ἕτερον προτιμᾶν
 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας. 11 καὶ οὕτως ἐν μεθορίῳ δύο χαλεπῶν κείμενος
 60 καὶ ἐξ ἑκατέρου νικώμενος πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐνέργειαν ἦν τῶν δεόντων ἀνε-
 πιτήδειος. | 12 πλὴν διὰ τὸ κατεπεῖγον τοῦ καιροῦ πύργους τινὰς ξυλο-
 συνθέντους τῷ διερρηκῶτι μέρει τοῦ τείχους ἡμεῖς δομησάμενοί τε καὶ προσ-
 πελάσαντες ὀλίγην τινὰ παρέσχομεν ἑαυτοῖς χρηστῆς ἐλπίδος ἀνα-
 ψυχὴν, ὡς δῆθεν ἀφ' ὕψους τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐρχομένους ἀπείρ-
 65 γειν καὶ μὴ παραχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς πλησίον ἵεναι τοῦ τείχους καὶ τὰς
 κακοβουλίας αὐτῶν ἐνεργεῖν. 13 ταῦτα δὲ σπευδόντων ἦν ἐφευρέ-
 ματα, τῆς ἀνάγκης τοῦ φόβου τὰς ἐπινοίας τῶν ματαίων ὑποβαλούσης,
 εἰ καὶ ὅτι, καθὼς τις ἔφη σοφός, εὐμήχανόν ἐστιν ἅπαν τὸ πιεζόμενον.
 14 οὐκ ἦν γὰρ ὅστις ἐν ἡμῖν βεβαίως κατὰ τοῦ μέλλοντος σκέπεται ἡ
 70 τῆς τῶν ἐλπιζομένων ἐκβάσεως.

20. Ὅμως ἐπειδὴ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πληγέντος ἡ περὶ ἡμῶν ἅπασα
 φροντίς εἰς τὸν ῥηθέντα μετῆι Νικήταν, ἤρχετο καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ παρ'
 ἑαυτοῦ τὸ κατὰ δύνάμιν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων

awaiting in an atmosphere of suspense the arrival of the enemy, there occurred through the malevolent contrivance of the foul fiend the following event.

The strategos⁵⁵ who was mentioned earlier was on horseback when he first met the newly-arrived Niketas at a spot near to where the building of the wall was in progress. Deciding to greet his friend (who was also on horseback) in the customary manner by embracing him, he let go of the reins with terrible and tragic consequences. The horses took fright, particularly the one on which the strategos was seated. In accordance with the nature of the beast, the animal was seized with a fit of madness, tossed its head in the air with the hairs of its mane standing up on end, reared and flung its rider from the saddle. Tumbling headfirst over its crupper he was thrown to the ground. He lay there pitifully, in a critical condition, with a fracture of the right femur and the pelvic bones. Members of his bodyguard lifted him up immediately and carried him back to his quarters. Unlikely for the foreseeable future to concern himself with the conduct of affairs, he lay helplessly, racked with unbearable pain and not knowing to what object he should first apply his mind. On the one hand, he was troubled by the thought of impending danger and by the question of how to save the city from barbarian attack; on the other, he was driven to consider his own plight, since the intensity of his pain and the mortal affliction with which his injuries threatened him made it imperative that he should concentrate exclusively on his own survival. And so, torn between two difficult objectives and defeated by both, he was in no position to take any kind of effective action. In response to the urgency of the situation, however, we ourselves constructed some wooden towers and brought them up to the broken down part of the wall. This action had the effect of raising our spirits a little, since we imagined that we might from our superior elevation hold off an attacker coming from the sea and thus prevent him from getting near enough to accomplish his wicked designs. But these were mere expedients bred of haste, far-fetched devices inspired by the terror of necessity, however much it may be the case that, as a sage has put it,⁵⁶ 'necessity is the mother of invention'. There was, in fact, not one of us who could provide with any certainty against the future and the expected outcome of events.

§20. Nevertheless, when, after the strategos' injury, all responsibility for our welfare devolved upon Niketas, he too played his part to the best of his ability. He said that a great number of Sklavenes⁵⁷ from the adjoining

Σκλαβήνων, τῶν τε ὑφ' ἡμᾶς τελούντων καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν στρατηγὸν
75 Στρυμόνος, πλήθος πολὺ προστετάχθαι συνελάσαι τῇ πόλει, τῆς τοξικῆς ἐμπείρων, ὡς ἂν μηδ' ἡμεῖς τυχὸν εὐρεθῶμεν τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων ἐνδέοντες πανοπλίας, ἀλλ' ἔχωμεν οἷς τὴν πρώτην αὐτῶν ἀποκρουσόμεθα προσβολήν. 2 ὁ καὶ εἰς ἔργον ἄγειν προεθυμεῖτο· 3 ἐπιστολὰς γὰρ χαράξας διὰ πάσης ἐξέπεμψε τῆς περιχώρου, ἦκειν τὸ τάχος πρὸς
80 ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀμφὶ τοὺς Σκλαβήνους κατεπισπεύδων, ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ὡς οἶόν τε ἦν ὀπλισάμενον. 4 ἐξ οὗ δὴ καὶ συνέρρεον ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ἀφελεῖς, οὐχ ὅσοι | δὲ τὴν χρεῖαν ἐπλήρουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν εὐαρίθμητοι καὶ πρὸς τὴν μάχην παντελῶς ἀπαράσκευοι. 5 τοῦτο δὲ συνέβαινε ἐκ τοῦ σκαιοῦς τινὰς εἶναι καὶ πονηροτάτους τοὺς ἐμπειπιστευμένους
85 αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας, τὸ οἰκεῖον μᾶλλον συμφέρον ἢ περὶ τὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ σκοποῦντας καὶ τῷ πλησίον ἐξ ἔθους ὄντας ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι δωροληψίαις τε ἐπιμαινομένους καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο προτιμᾶν τῆς τούτου ἐμμελετήσαντας κτήσεως. 6 καὶ δις γὰρ καὶ τρίς καὶ πολλάκις διὰ γραμμάτων ἐκφοβεῖν πειρωμένους τοῦ προλεχθέντος Νικήτα τὸν στρατηγὸν
90 Στρυμόνος καὶ τῆς βραδυτῆτος αὐτὸν καταιτιωμένου, καὶ ὡς εἴ τι πάθοι κινδύνου παρόντος ἢ πόλις, αὐτῷ μόνῳ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ κρατοῦντος καταψηφίζεται, 7 οὐδὲν ἡττον ἢ πρότερον εἶχε τῆς συνήθους ἐκεῖνος κακοβουλίας ἐχόμενος· πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ ἔπειτα δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου φόβου ὑπεριδὼν καὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν τῆς τοσαύτης πόλεως
95 εἰς μηδὲν θέμενος οὔτε αὐτὸν δι' ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε τινὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ὄντων ἐλθεῖν καὶ συνεπαμῦναι τοσαύτη συμφορᾷ περιστοιχισθεῖσιν ἡμῖν ἐβουλεύσατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τοῦ ἀεὶ παρεῖναι μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἡμέρας τοῦ πολέμου πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀποπλανήσας, ἔλαθε συμπεράνας τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλήν καὶ τῷ ὀλέθρῳ μέγα καὶ κομψὸν ἐγγελάσας,
5 ὥς συνεσχέθημεν.

21. Οὕτω δὲ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων Σκλαβήνων ἀποβουκοληθέντες ἐλπίδος, καίτοι οὐδ' ἡμεῖς ὄντες εὐαρίθμητοι, ἀλλὰ πολλῶς πλήθει τὴν χρεῖαν ἀποπληροῦντες καὶ λίαν τὴν τῶν | βαρβάρων καθυπερβαίνοντες στρατιάν, ὅμως τὸ μηδεμίαν πείραν πολέμου ἐνυπάρχειν ἡμῖν
10 μηδὲ προαποκειμένην ἔχειν τὴν περὶ τούτου μελέτην φοβερὰν τινὰ καὶ ἐκπλήξεως γέμουσαν τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν ἐνεποίει. 2 ἄλλως τε καὶ τὸ μηδὲν φθάσαι πρὸς τὴν τούτου ἐξευρεῖν ἄμυναν πονηρὸν ἡμῖν κατεφαί-

territories, both those who paid us tribute and those who were under the jurisdiction of the strategos⁵⁸ of Strymon, had been instructed to come up to the city, so that thanks to their skill in archery we might perhaps not be found inferior even in weaponry to our enemies, but have at our disposal the means of repelling their first onslaught. And he eagerly set about accomplishing this plan. He wrote letters which he dispatched throughout the whole adjoining region. In these he urged the Sclavenes and their retainers to come to us with all speed, each man arming himself as heavily as he could. But only a few peasants responded to his appeal, a wholly inadequate force, few in number and totally unprepared for battle. This state of affairs had been brought about by the incompetence and dishonesty of the commanders who had been put in charge of them. These men were more concerned with their own advantage than with the common good, habitually intriguing against their associates, madly intent on taking bribes and well-versed in the art of preferring this type of acquisition to all others. On two, three, indeed on several different occasions the aforesaid Niketas tried by means of a letter to frighten the strategos of Strymon⁵⁹ into action, accusing him of procrastination and intimating that, if the city were to suffer any harm as a result of the present peril, he would denounce him to the emperor as solely responsible for what had happened. But the fellow clung just as obstinately as before to his habitual folly. Without fear or respect for God or man and thinking nothing of the destruction of so great a city, he resolved that neither he for his part, nor any of his subordinates, should come to our aid when we were in such dire straits. Instead, he misled us right up to the last day of the war into believing that he would appear at any moment, playing, unknown to us, the accomplice in a plot to bring about our downfall, and laughing up his sleeve at the disaster which engulfed us.

§21. Thus we were deceived in the hopes which we entertained of our Sklavene allies.⁶⁰ Yet we were no mere handful of men but were easily up to the required numerical strength and far exceeded that of the barbarian army. Nevertheless, our complete inexperience of warfare and lack of previous training made an enemy attack the object of limitless fear and trepidation. And in particular it seemed to us a bad sign that we had not managed to contrive any means of defence against this contingency.

νετο. 3 καὶ φυγῇ μὲν χρήσασθαι τέως φορτικὸν ἦν· ἐμελλε γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐκτραπέντων [τε] πόλιν τε ἀλωθῆναι καὶ τῶν προλεχθέντων σεβασμίων
 15 οἰκῶν ὃ τε διὰ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ λοιπῆς χρεϊώδους ὕλης ἀφαιρεθῆναι κόσμος ἢ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ πανευαγεῖς οἴκοι πυρίκαυστοι γενέσθαι. 4 ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ὑπεκκλίνοντες βλάβην, οὐκ εἶχομεν ὅπως τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἀγανάκτησιν διαθώμεθα. 5 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἦν ἀνεκτὰ καὶ πάσης σωτηρίας ἐχόμενα, εἰ καὶ ὅτι πρὸς
 20 μνεῖαν μόνον ἔλθειν τῶν τοιούτων μήπω τοῦ κακοῦ τὴν πείραν ἐσχηκόσι παντὸς θανάτου χαλεπώτερα· 6 τοῖς τοσούτου πράγματος χωρεῖν δῆμον, μηδὲν ἄλλο προεθισθέντα πλὴν τὸ ἀβρὸν μεταδιδώκειν καὶ τρυφηλὸν βίον καὶ πολεμικοῖς ἀγῶσι μήπω προγυμνασθέντα, ἔκστασιν ἡμῖν ἐνεποίει καὶ φρίκην.

25 **22.** Πλὴν ὅτι τοῖς λογισμοῖς θατέρου τούτων παλαίοντες, οὕτω τὰς ἐφεξῆς ἡμέρας διετελοῦμεν. 2 καὶ ὁ μόνον τοῖς ἀποροῦσιν ὑπολείπεται, τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐσπουδάζομεν ἤδη, τοὺς ἀφάτους τῆς θείας συμπαθείας οἰκτιρμούς καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀγίων πρεσβείας ἐπικαλούμενοι. 3 κατειληφότες γὰρ τὸν προλεχθέντα πανευπρεπέστατον οἶκον τοῦ πανεν-
 30 δόξου μάρτυρος Δημητρίου, ὅσοι τε τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦμεν καὶ ὅσοι ἐξ ἄλλοδαπῆς ἦσαν ἐπήλυδες, ἀξία πᾶσα καὶ ἡλικία, καὶ θρηνῶδεις χορούς συστησάμενοι ἐπεβοῶμεν τῷ μάρτυρι προστάτην ἡμῖν γενέσθαι κατὰ τῆς προσδοκωμένης ἀπειλῆς τῶν βαρβάρων, 4 „ἔδειξας“ λέγοντες, „ὦ γενναῖε μάρτυς, τὸ θερμὸν τῆς σῆς ἀντιλήψεως ἐν πολλοῖς κιν-
 35 δύνοις πολλάκις ἐπελθοῦσι τῇ πόλει σου, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐναντίων ἐπιβουλήν διεσκέδασας, καὶ ὀλέθρου παντὸς ἀπείρατον αὐτὴν διετήρησας. 5 δεῖξον καὶ νῦν, συμπαθέστατε, τὴν ἄμετρόν σου περὶ ἡμᾶς κηδεμονίαν, καὶ μὴ καυχῆσονται καθ' ἡμῶν ἔθνη βάρβαρα καὶ ἀλλόφυλα, μὴ εἰδότα θεόν· 6 μηδὲ δῶς βεβηλωθῆναί σου τοῦτον τὸν οἶκον, ὃν πᾶσα ἡ
 40 οἰκομένη κοινὸν ἱατρεῖον καὶ προσφύγιον κέκτηται, ὑπὸ ἐναγῶν καὶ ἀθέων ἀνθρώπων, τὴν πίστιν ἡμῶν μυκτηριζόντων καὶ τὴν λατρείαν ἐξουθενούντων, καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἔγκλημα καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπαγόντων τὴν θεοσέβειαν, καὶ θάνατον ἀπειλούντων ἄωρον καὶ ὀλέθριον. 7 εἰ γὰρ καὶ μυρίων ἐσμέν ἄξιοι τιμωριῶν δι' ἃς ἐπράξαμεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀμαρτίας,
 45 καὶ τῇσδε τῆς ἐπερχομένης καταστροφῆς ὑπόδικοι καθεστήκαμεν, 8 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔγνωμεν ἕτερον θεὸν εἰ μὴ τὸν σὲ στεφανώσαντα, δι' ὃν καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἄθλους δτήνυσας, ὃν καὶ τῇ μιμήσει τοῦ πάθους ὑπερεδόξασας,

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Meanwhile, recourse to flight would have been an ignoble act, since it would inevitably have resulted in the capture of the city and the theft of all the ornaments made of gold, silver and other valuable materials belonging to the places of worship already referred to, or in the destruction by fire of the holy churches themselves. At the same time, even if we contrived to avoid suffering harm at the hands of the barbarians, we would not know how to assuage the emperor's displeasure. Yet, such a policy would have been bearable and would have guaranteed our safety, however much the bare mention of such things might have sounded like a fate worse than death to those individuals who had never really known the meaning of adversity. For a people used only to a soft and luxurious life style, and with no previous military training to have to take such momentous decisions, that was a thought that filled us with horror and fairly drove us to distraction.

§22. And so, in spite of everything, we spent the next few days in a state of permanent indecision, with the result that we fell back on the one recourse left open to the helpless and invoked the limitless mercy of God's loving kindness and the intercession of the saints. Making our way, therefore, to the magnificent abode of the all-glorious martyr Demetrios, citizens and foreigners alike, people of every age and of every station, we set up a chorus of lamentation and in the following words called upon the martyr to be our protector against the barbarian attack that threatened to engulf us: 'O noble martyr, in many dangers which on many occasions befell your city you vouchsafed your assistance, confounding every plot of the enemy and preserving her unscathed from destruction of every kind. Display on this occasion too, oh most merciful one, your boundless solicitude towards us, lest heathen and barbarian nations which know not God should boast against us.⁶¹ Do not allow this your house, which the whole world possesses jointly as its place of healing and of refuge, to be profaned by unholy and godless men, who scorn our faith and who set at nought our worship, whose only charge against us is our fear of God and who threaten us with untimely destruction. For even though we deserve countless punishments for the sins we have committed in this world and have indeed become liable to the catastrophe which is poised to descend on us, yet we recognize no other god than the God who bestowed on you the crown of martyrdom, for whose greater glory and in imitation of whose

ἐξ οὗ καὶ τῶν πολλῶν θαυμάτων τὴν χάριν ἀπέιληφας, καὶ ἡμῖν δεδώ-
 ρησαι τεῖχος ὄχυρόν καὶ ἀκλόνητον ἔρεισμα, τὰς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐκάστοτε
 50 ποιούμενος | πρὸς αὐτὸν ἰκεσίας καὶ ἐξαίτων ἡμῖν τὰ συμφέροντα.
 9 ἔπιδε οὖν καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν καὶ ἀμηχανίαν τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου,
 καὶ τῆς δεήσεως ἡμῶν ἐπακούσας στῆθι εὐπαρρησιάστῳ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ
 ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῶν οἰκετῶν σου, καὶ τῆς προσδοκωμένης ἐξάρπασον συ-
 στροφῆς, ἵνα μὴ καυχῆσονται καθ' ἡμῶν τὰ τέκνα τῆς παιδείας
 55 Ἄγαρ, μηδὲ εἴπωσι, ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ προστάτης αὐτῶν; 10 ὁρᾷς γὰρ
 καὶ αὐτός, εὐμενέστατε, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν δόρασιν οὐδ' ἐν ἀσπίσι πεποιοῦντες
 ἐσμέν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πᾶν ἀνεθέμεθα τῇ δυνατῇ σου πρεσβείᾳ, τῆς σῆς προ-
 νοίας καὶ αὐθις ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐπελπίζοντες.” 11 τούτους τοὺς ἰκετηρίους
 μετὰ συνοχῆς καρδίας τῷ μάρτυρι νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν πάντες προσά-
 60 γοντες καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ ναοῦ τοῖς δάκρυσι πλύνοντες τῇ προσδοκίᾳ
 τῶν ἐναντίων διετελοῦμεν, καθάπερ τινὸς ἔρκους ὄχυρωτάτου τῆς ἀμαρ-
 τίας ἡμῶν ἀντικαθισταμένης καὶ τὰς πρεσβείας τοῦ μάρτυρος κω-
 λουούσης πρὸς τὸ τὴν θεῖαν ἡμῖν εὐμένειαν ἐπιτελεῖν. 12 εἰκὸς γὰρ καὶ
 πρὸς αὐτὸν ῥηθῆναι, καθάπερ πάσαι πρὸς τὸν προφῆτην Ἰερεμίαν
 65 ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ποιουμένου τὴν δέησιν, μὴ τῆς θεϊκῆς συμπαθείας
 ὄντος ἀξίου τυχεῖν, ὅτι “μὴ προσεύχου ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου· οὐ γὰρ
 εἰσακούσομαί σου.” 13 ἔδει γάρ, ἔδει τὸν παραχωρηθέντα καθ' ἡμῶν
 ὀλεθρον ἐνεργεῖσθαι, ἵν' ἔχωσι γινῶναι πάντες οἱ ἐν ἀμαρτίαις ὄντες ὡς
 οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐπισπᾶται τὸ θεῖκόν οὓς πρὸς τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων προσ-
 70 φερόμενας δεήσεις ὡς ὀρθοτομία βίου καὶ ἀρίστων ἐπιμέλεια πράξεων. |

23. Ἐν ὧν γὰρ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ ματαίῳ ταῦτα διεσπουδάζετο, ἤκέ-
 τις τὰς βαρβαρικὰς νῆας ἤδη που παρὰ τὸν αὐχένα τοῦ ῥηθέντος Ἐκ-
 βόλου πλησιάσαι καταμηνύων κυριακῆς ἡμερῶν ἐπιφωσκούσης, ἐνάτης
 καὶ εἰκάδος ἀγομένης μηνὸς Ἰουλίου, ἔτους ,ς'υιβ'. 2 τῆς οὖν φήμης
 75 ταύτης πᾶσαν ἀθρόον διαδραμούσης τὴν πόλιν θόρυβος μὲν παρὰ πᾶσιν
 ἀνήγερτο καὶ κλόνος καὶ τάραχος, ἄλλων ἄλλο τι βοώντων καὶ περὶ
 τοῦ προκειμένου βουλευομένων, ὀπλιζομένων τε πάντων ὡς οἷόν τε
 ἦν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος κατασπευδόντων. 3 οὕτω δὲ ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι
 τοῦ τείχους διασπαρέντων, ἰδοὺ δὴ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων αἱ νῆες ἐκ τῆς

sufferings you suffered a martyr's death, and from whom you also received the grace of your many miracles, and have given us a firm rampart and an unshakeable bulwark, interceding with Him each time on our behalf and in pursuit of our best interests. Look, therefore, now too upon the helplessness and perplexity of this people, listen to our petition, stand up with bold intercession on behalf of us your servants and rescue us from impending disaster, lest the children of the maidservant Hagar boast against us and say, 'Where is their protector?' For you see, most gracious one, that we do not put our trust in spears and shields, but have entrusted everything to your powerful intercession, pinning our hopes on engaging once again your provident concern.' With anguish of heart we all kept addressing day and night these words of supplication to the martyr and washed the floor of the church with our tears as we awaited the onset of the enemy. Yet all the while our sins stood in the way and interposed a formidable barrier, which prevented the martyr's intercessions from inclining God's favour towards us. He was told, as was right, the same thing as Jeremiah of old had been told when he prayed on behalf of Israel, though it was unworthy of receiving God's compassion: 'Offer no prayer for this people; for I will not listen to you.'⁶² We were doomed, doomed to destruction, which once permitted must needs be accomplished, so that all those who live in sin might learn that nothing inclines the ear of God so effectively to requests brought forward through the agency of the saints as an upright life and diligence in the performance of good deeds.

§23. While we were thus exerting ourselves in vain, someone arrived with the news that the ships of the barbarians were already nearing the neck of land described as the 'Jetty.' This occurred at daybreak on Sunday the 29th of July in the six thousand four hundred and twelfth year of the Creation⁶³ of the World. The report spread like wildfire through the city and there was turmoil, din and confusion on all sides, as people shouted out now one thing now another, trying to decide what to do about the immediate situation, and everybody armed himself as best he could and hastened to man the walls. And they were not yet properly deployed along the

80 ῥηθείσης ἐφάνησαν ἐξοχῆς, πεπετασμένα ἔχουσαι τὰ ἰστία. 4 καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τινὰ σύμβασιν ἔτυχε τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ κατ' οὐρανὸν αὐταῖς ἐπεισφρήσας ἄνεμος, ὡς τοῖς πολλοῖς δοκεῖν μηδ' ἐφ' ὑδάτων ἀλλὰ δι' ἁέρος μεταρσίους κομίζεσθαι. 5 Ἰούλιος γὰρ ἦγετο, καθὼς εἴρηται, μὴν, ὅτε καὶ πλέον τῶν ἄλλων ἡμερῶν ὁ τῇδε διακόλπιος ἐπεισέρχεται ἄνε-
 85 μος, ἐκ τῶν ἐξοχῶν τοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Ὀλύμπου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων, καὶ μέχρις ἐνάτης ὥρας ἀπὸ πρωΐθεν ἐφ' ἐκάστης τῶν θερινῶν ἡμερῶν συνεισπίπτων τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸν ἄερα διαφορῶν. 6 ἐκείνον οὖν εὐρηκότες συνεργὸν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἔτι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν ἀρχαῖς οὔσης, ἐγγύθεν προσέρρηξαν. 7 καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὰ ἰστία χαλῶσιν αὐτοῦ που παρὰ
 90 τὸ τεῖχος γενόμενοι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅποια τις οὔσα τυγχάνει ἐπιμελῶς κατενόουν· 8 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἅμα τῷ καθορισθῆναι τῆς μάχης ἀπήρξαντο, ἀλλ' ἐνέδωκαν ὀλίγην | τινὰ σχολὴν τοῦ τε προπειραθῆναι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἰσχύος, ὅπως ἔχωμεν πρὸς τὴν διὰ τοῦ πολέμου συμπλοκὴν, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς πρὸς τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἐξασκῆσαι. 9 ἔστησαν οὖν τέως περιδεῖς,
 95 μηδενὶ τῶν ὁρωμένων ἔχοντες ἐξομοιοῦν τὰ βλεπόμενα· πόλιν γὰρ κατενόουν πολλῷ μὲν τινι μεγέθει πεπλατυσμένην, λαοῦ δὲ πλήθει ἅπαν τὸ τεῖχος περιεστοιχισμένην. 10 ἐξ οὗ δὴ καὶ πλέον καταπλαγέντες μικρὸν τὴν μάχην ἐπέσχον, ὡς ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἡμῖν ἐγγενέσθαι βραχύ τι θάρσος καὶ μεταξύ τῆς τοιαύτης σχολῆς τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνακτήσασθαι.

5 24. Οὕτω δὲ ὄντων ἡμῶν ἔδοξε τῷ καθηγουμένῳ τοῦ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατοῦ διελθεῖν ἅπαν τὸ τεῖχος, ὅσον περικλύζεται τῇ θαλάσῃ. 2 σκαιὸς δὲ οὗτος καὶ παμπόνηρος ἦν, καὶ τῇ ὁμωνμίᾳ τοῦ θηρὸς κατάλληλον καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐπιδεικνύμενος, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἐκείνου τῶν τρόπων τῇ ἀγριότητι καὶ τῷ ἀκαθέκτῳ τῆς ὀρμῆς διακείμενος.
 10 3 ἔγνωσ δὲ τοῦτον πάντως καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς φήμης, περιβόητον ἐχούσης τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κακίαν, ὡς μηδέποτε τινὰ τῶν λαλουμένων ἀσεβῶν εἰς τοσαύτην μανίαν ἐλάσαι, ὡς ἀκορέστως ἔχειν ὅρᾱν ἀνθρωπίνων αἱμάτων ἐκχύσεις καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον προτιμᾶν τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀναιρέσεως. 4 τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν ποτε καὶ τῇ τοῦ σωτηρίου βαπτί-
 15 σματος ἀναγεννήσει μεμορφωμένος τὴν τε ἡμετέραν θρησκείαν δεδιδαγμένος, ὑπ' αὐτῶν χειρωθεὶς τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν ἐκείνων δυσσέβειαν τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ἀντηλ|λάξατο πίστεως, καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχει χαρίσασθαι ἢ τὴν κλῆσιν κυρῶσαι ταῖς πράξεσι καὶ παρα-

battlements, when the barbarian fleet appeared in view from the previously mentioned promontory, in full sail. And it so happened at the time that the ships were driven by a tailwind in such a way as to create the impression that they were not gliding over the surface of the water but floating through the air. It was, as has been remarked, the month of July, a time of year when the wind that blows across the Gulf (of Thessaloniki) is at its most sustained, blowing from the foothills of Mt. Olympus in Greece, and each summer day from daybreak to the ninth hour falling upon the city and causing a breeze.⁶⁴ And so, with the wind abetting them in the first moments of daylight, the enemy swooped down from close by. First of all, they lowered the sails, having positioned themselves alongside the wall, and began to take careful note of the layout of the city. They did not, in fact, offer battle as soon as they had dropped anchor but left some time in order to probe our strength and the extent of our preparedness and to equip themselves for combat. They stood for a while filled with apprehension, unable to compare the spectacle that now confronted them with anything they had seen before: what they saw was a city of considerable dimensions with the entire course of its wall manned by great numbers of people. Consequently, they were even more dismayed and held back for a short time from giving battle. We, for our part, began to pluck up courage and in the short ensuing respite to restore our morale.

§24. While we were in this situation, the leader of the barbarian forces decided to patrol the entire section of the wall that is washed by the sea. He was a sinister and thoroughly evil person, who flaunted a style of behaviour singularly appropriate to the wild animal after which he was named and for whose ferocious ways and ungovernable temper he was more than a match.⁶⁵ Assuredly, you yourself also know the man by reputation, a reputation which celebrates his wickedness with the claim that he has outshone all previous paragons of impiety by descending to such depths of madness as to gaze insatiably upon the spilling of human blood and to love nothing better than the slaughter of Christians. He too was once a Christian, was reborn in the saving grace of baptism and taught the precepts of our religion. But when he was taken prisoner by the barbarians, he embraced their impiety in exchange for the true piety of the faith and there is no way in which he more eagerly seeks to ingratiate himself with them than by making his deeds conform to his name and by taking a particular pride in flaunting

βάτου καὶ ληστοῦ δράματα ἐνδεικνύμενος ἐκ τούτων καὶ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι
 20 καὶ ὑπεραίρεσθαι. 5 οὗτος δὲ οὖν ὁ ἀτίθασος καὶ παραβάτης Λέων
 περιήει τῇ νηϊ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ τεῖχος ἀποσκοπῶν καὶ πόθεν ἐφορ-
 μήσας προσβάλει κακούργως ἐμμελετῶν. 6 αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ νῆες ὑφ' ἐνὶ
 χώρῳ τοῦ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς αἰγιαλοῦ προσορμισθεῖσαι συνεσκευ-
 25 ᾶζοντο. 7 οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ πολῖται καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐφράττοντο,
 τὰς ἐπάλξεις διελόμενοι καὶ ἑαυτοὺς πρὸς τὸν προκείμενον ἀγῶνα συν-
 επαλείφοντες. 8 καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἀγὼν ἀληθῶς, καὶ τῶν μεγάλων ἀγώνων
 ὁ διαβόητος, οὐ παλαιστοῦ τινος ἀγωνίαν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν ἀντίπαλον
 τοῦ σώματος ἀντιρρήσει τὸν παρὰ τῶν ὁρώντων ἐπαινον προξενῶν,
 οὐκ ἐπαθλα προτιθεῖς ὕλης τινὸς πρὸς ὀλίγον τέρψιν τῷ νικησάντι
 30 παρεχόμενα, οὐδὲ πάλιν ἤτταν μέχρις αἰσχύνης μόνης τὸν νικηθέντα
 καταβιβάζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἢ περισωθεῖσαν τοσαύτην πόλιν ἐκ τοσούτου
 κινδύνου γέρας ἀμίμητον ἀναδήσασθαι, ἢ παθοῦσάν τι τῶν ἀπειλου-
 μένων ἀπαρηγόρητον ὁδύνην ἐνέγκασθαι.

25. Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ δὴ τὸ τεῖχος ἅπαν ὁ θῆρ ἐκεῖνος κατεῖδεν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ
 35 τὸν πορθμὸν τοῦ λιμένος ἀλύσει σιδηρᾶ καὶ τισι ναυσὶ βεβυθισμέναις
 ὄντα κατὰφρακτον, μᾶλλον ἐκεῖθεν τὴν προσβολὴν ποιήσασθαι διεσκέ-
 ψατο, ὅθεν διέγνω μήτε τὰς ἐξωθεν κωλύειν | τῶν προβυθισθέντων
 μονολίθων ἐνέδρας τὴν τῶν νηῶν ἔφοδον. μήτε μὴν ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ τοῦ
 ἤδη δομηθέντος τεύχους ἐπίτασιν πολέμου ταύτας ἐκδέχεσθαι. 2 ἀλλ'
 40 ἐνθα βαθυνόμενον τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ὕδωρ τῷ χθαμαλωτέρῳ τείχει προσ-
 ρήγνυται, τοὺς τόπους σημειωσάμενος καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους ἀνθυπο-
 στρέψας, ἐνέδωκε τὸν ἀγῶνα. 3 οἱ δὲ τὸ τάχος τοῖς λεχθεῖσι τόποις ταῖς
 ναυσὶ διασπαρέντες, βοή τε χρησάμενοι βαρβαρικῇ καὶ τραχείᾳ, ἐφώρμησαν
 τῷ τείχει, ταῖς κώπαις ἐλάυνοντες, καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν δέρρεων κατεσκευα-
 45 σμένοις τυμπάνοις καταπληκτικὸν κτυποῦντες, καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις φο-
 βήτροις τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσιν ἐκταράττοντες. 4 ἀντεβόησαν δὲ μάλ-
 λον καὶ γεγωνυτέραν φωνὴν οἱ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἐστῶτες τὸ σωτήριον
 ὄπλον τοῦ σταυροῦ πρὸς τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπικαλούμενοι συμ-
 50 μαχίαν, 5 καὶ τοσοῦτον ὡς ἀκηκοῦσας τοὺς βαρβάρους τὸν πολυάν-
 θρωπον ἐκεῖνον καὶ παντὸς ἀκούσματος φοβερώτερον ἀλαλαγμὸν ἱλιγ-
 γιᾶσαι τέως καὶ μηδὲν ἀνύσειν προσδοκᾶν, τοῦ δήμου τὴν πληθύν ἀνα-
 λογισαμένους ἐκ τῆς βοῆς, καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἂν πρὸς τοσοούτους ἀποδυσάμενους
 εἰς μάχην εὐχερῶς ἔχειν πόλιν τοσαύτην ῥαδίως ἐκπορθεῖν, ἣν οὐδενὶ

the actions of a felon and a brigand. And so Leo, this untamable beast, this felon, sailed around the wall gazing intently and searching out with studied malice a possible point from which to launch his attack. The other ships dropped anchor at a single point on the eastern shoreline and began to make their preparations. Our citizens also donned their armour, manned the battlements and braced themselves for the ensuing contest. And truly it *was* a contest - the great contest which had been so loudly proclaimed, not the mere trial of strength of a wrestler competing against his opponent for the applause of the spectators, not a contest that offers a material reward and holds out a fleeting moment of enjoyment for the winner or the simple stigma of defeat for the loser; what was at stake was whether so great a city would win the unparalleled distinction of surviving so great a danger or suffer the inconsolable grief of in some way succumbing to the fate that menaced her.

§25. But when that wild beast had surveyed the entire extent of the wall and had noticed that the entrance to the harbour was barred by an iron chain and obstructed by the sunken hulks of a number of ships, he decided to launch his attack just at those points which he perceived to be free of those blocks of stone which, lurking on the seabed where they had earlier been placed, impeded the access of his ships and where his fleet would not be under heavier fire from that part of the wall which had already been built up to some considerable height. He chose a location, in fact, where a great depth of sea water beat against a particularly low stretch of wall, made a careful note of his position, and then, returning to his men, gave the signal for battle. They swooped down with their ships towards those points which had been described to them, letting out harsh and savage cries and rowing furiously in the direction of the wall. And banging on rawhide drums, they raised a fearful din, and they tried with many other kinds of bluff to frighten the defenders on the battlements. But those who were manning the wall shouted back even louder and invoked the aid of the saving weapon of the cross against the enemy forces. And they did this to such an effect that the barbarians, at the sound of so many people uttering a cry more fearsome than any they had previously heard, were dazed for a while and did not expect to achieve anything. Estimating the numbers of the citizens from the loudness of their shouts, they concluded that it would be no easy matter to enter the fray against such odds and to sack so great a city, the like of which

παραδείγματι συγκρίνουν εἶχον. 6 ὁμως ἵνα μὴ δόξωσι κατεπτηχέναι
 55 τὴν πρώτην προσβολήν, οὐκ ἄδεῶς μὲν, οὐδὲ πάλιν μεθ' ἧς ὕστερον
 ἐχρῶντο μανίας, ἀλλὰ τινι λύσση φόβῳ συγκεκραμένη πλησίον γενό-
 μενοι ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν βελῶν νιφάσι τοὺς ἐξ ἐναντίας ἡμύνοντο. 7 ἔπειτα
 δέ τι | καὶ ἀναιδέστερον ἐπεχείρουν καὶ πλησιέστερον ἐφορμᾶν ἐφιλονεί-
 κουν, καθάπερ τινὲς ὑλακτικοὶ κύνες τὸν οἰκεῖον θυμὸν διεγείροντες, τοῖς
 60 κατ' αὐτῶν φερομένοις ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐξαγριούμενοι. 8 οὐδὲ γὰρ
 οἱ τῆς πόλεως τῆς τοξικῆς κατημέλουν, ἀλλ' ἐχρῶντο ταύτῃ μᾶλλον
 ἐναργῶς καὶ ἐπιτηδείως, πάντας τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πλησίον χωρῶν προσ-
 ρυέντας Σκλαβήνους τοῖς τόποις ἐκείνοις καταστησάμενοι, ὧν οὐδὲν
 ἔστιν οὕτως τῶν ἄλλων εὐεπιχείρητον ὥς τὸ κατὰ σκοποῦ βάλλειν
 65 καὶ μηδὲν τῶν βελῶν αὐτῶν τὴν ῥύμην ἀνθυποφέρειν.

26. Ἄλλ' οὕτω βαλλόντων ἐκατέρων καὶ βαλλομένων, ἰσοπαλῇ τε
 τὴν μάχην προσπίπτουσιν ἐνδεικνυμένων, διαιρεθέντες τινὲς τῶν βαρ-
 βάρων, τῶν ἄλλων ὡς εἰκὸς εὐτολμότεροι καὶ θρασύτεροι, καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ
 τῆς νηὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἀκοντίσαντες, κλίμακά τε ξυλίνην μεθ' ἑαυτῶν συγκαθ-
 70 ελόντες, ὥθουν ἄγοντες ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι, πειρώμενοι δι' αὐτῆς ἀνιέναι
 τῷ τείχει, μηδὲνα λόγον τῶν ἐκείθεν κατ' αὐτῶν πεμπομένων ποιού-
 μενοι. 2 μέχρι γὰρ τοῦ πλησίον γενέσθαι ἐκάλυπτον τὰ σώματα,
 νηχόμενοι τε τῷ ὕδατι καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ταῖς ἀσπίσι περιφραττόμενοι·
 3 ὅτε δ' ἐγγύθεν ἐγένοντο, τὸ ὕδωρ ἀποδυσάμενοι ῥωμαλεώτερον ἀντ-
 75 εἶχον ταῖς βολαῖς προσπαλαίοντες, τὰς ἀσπίδας μόνας φέροντες ἐπὶ
 κεφαλῇς, εἶτα τὴν κλίμακα θᾶπτον κατὰ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἀνεγκύσαντες
 ἐπεχείρουν δι' αὐτῆς ἀνιέναι καὶ εἴσω χωρεῖν. 4 ἀλλὰ προέφθασε τὸ
 βεβουλευμένον ὁ θάνατος, καὶ πρὶν ἀκριβῶς σκοπῆσαι πῶς τὴν | ἐπί-
 νοιαν συμπεράνωσι, τῆς ζωῆς ἀπελύοντο· 5 μόνον γὰρ ὅτι ταῖς βαθ-
 80 μίσι τὰ ἴχνη ἐκίνησαν, καὶ δίκην χαλάζης πυκνῆς οἱ λίθοι κατ' αὐτῶν
 ἀφεθέντες ὁμοῦ τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ τῷ ὀλέθρῳ τούτους ἐξανεσκεύασαν.
 6 ἐν τούτοις ὀπισθόρμητοι πᾶσαι χωροῦσιν αἱ νῆες, οὐδενὸς ἄλλου
 τοιούτου τέως ἐπιχειρεῖν τολμηρῶς ἔχουσαι· μόναις δὲ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν
 βελῶν νιφάσι, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἄερα συσκιαζούσαις, ἔβαλλον ἀπὸ μηκό-
 85 θεν, οὐδὲν ἤττον καὶ αὐτῶν βαλλομένων τοῖς τε βέλεσι πεμπομένοις
 εὐστόχως καὶ ὀλίγα διαμαρτάνουσι καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πετροβόλων
 καταφοραῖς, ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς μόνος ὁ διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος ἐγγινόμενος ῥοῖζος
 ἔκστασιν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐναπειργάζετο.

27. Ἦδη γὰρ καὶ ὁ λεχθεὶς Νικήτας, ὁ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως σταλαῖς,

they had never seen. Nevertheless, in order not to create the impression of having lost their nerve at the start of their offensive, they advanced neither fearlessly, nor with the rage which they later displayed, but with a certain blend of frenzy and fear, protecting themselves against their opponents by means of a barrage of missiles. Then their approach became more reckless and they strove to bring the fighting nearer, rousing themselves to fury like barking dogs and thoroughly enraged by the weapons that were hurled down at them from the wall. The citizens, in fact, were anything but remiss in their use of archery, and used it to great and conspicuous effect by stationing all the Sklavenes gathered from the neighbouring regions at those points from which it was easiest to shoot accurately and where there was nothing to deflect the momentum of their missiles.

§26. But while both parties were shooting and being shot at, and neither side was gaining the upper hand, a detachment of barbarians, consisting no doubt of individuals bolder and more daring than the rest, leaped overboard. They took with them a wooden ladder, which they propelled through the water and with which they attempted to scale the wall, paying no heed to the weapons discharged against them from that quarter. In fact, they kept their bodies underwater until they got close up and swam in holding their shields over their heads. Once they got near, however, left without the protection afforded by the water and using their shields to cover their heads, they struggled manfully against a rain of missiles. Then, rapidly drawing up the ladder against the rampart, they tried to scale the wall. But death forestalled their plan and before they could form a clear idea of how to carry out their scheme they lost their lives. No sooner, in fact, had their feet touched the rungs of the ladder than a volley of stones as thick as hail was unleashed against them, toppling them off and sending them headlong to a watery grave. Whereupon the ships all drew back quickly, not daring for the time being to venture anything further of the kind. They resorted, instead, to discharging from a distance a hail of missiles that darkened the air, but they too came equally under fire from well-aimed shafts that rarely missed their mark and from shot from the stone-throwing engines, the mere sound of which as it whistled through the air struck terror into the hearts of the barbarians.

§27. Already Niketas, who has been mentioned before, the one who

- 90 τὸ τεῖχος ἅπαν διέτρεχε τὸν δῆμον παραθαρρύνων, 2 „ἄνδρες“ λέγων
 “Θεσσαλονικεῖς, ἄλλας μὲν εἶχον πρὸ τοῦδε περὶ ὑμῶν ὑπολήψεις, καὶ
 οὐκ ἂν οὕτως γενναίους καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον τοῦ πολέμου τολμηροὺς
 ἔκρινον εἶναι, μηδὲν τοιοῦτον μήτε πειραθέντας πάλαι μήτε κατενε-
 95 ὑμῶν παρέσχευ ἑλπίδας. 3 ὁρῶ γὰρ πάντας ὑμᾶς τοῖς τε σώμασι
 σφριγῶντας καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀνδριζομένους καὶ ὅλους ὄντας τῶν προ-
 κειμένων, τῶν ἀντιπάλων κατεγγελῶντας καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς αὐτῶν
 γενναίως ἐκτρεπομένους. καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπεικὸς πράττετε· 4 περὶ γὰρ
 5 ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγὼν, ἀνδρῶν τιμίῳ καὶ τοῖς εἶδεσι καὶ τοῖς ψυ-
 χικοῖς προτερήμασι, καὶ περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πόλεως, ἧς οὐδὲν ἐρίζει τῶν
 ἀξιολόγων εἰς περιφάνειαν. 5 ὑπεράνω μὲν γὰρ γενομένοις τοῦ τῆδε
 κινδύνου ὁ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἔπαινος ἐποφείλεται· παθοῦσι δέ τι τῶν
 ἀβουλήτων, καὶ ὧν οἱ βάρβαροι κατηπείληνται, οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅπου τὴν
 συμφορὰν εἰκάζειν ἐστὶν ἢ τῆς αἰσχύνης τὸ μέγεθος. 6 διὰ τοῦτο
 10 στήτε γενναίως τῇ τε πατρίδι καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν νίκην περιποιού-
 μενοι, καὶ μὴ δῶτε νῶτα χερσὶ πολεμίων, μηδὲ καινόν τι καταλίποιτε
 τῷ βίῳ διήγημα, μικρᾶς ῥαθυμίας κίνδυνον τοσοῦτον ἀνταλλαξά-
 μενοι.” 7 τούτοις τοῖς παρακλητικοῖς ὑπαλείφων τὸν δῆμον καὶ θάρ-
 σος οὐκ ὀλίγον ταῖς ἀπάντων ψυχαῖς ἐνιῆς τὴν περίοδον ἐποιεῖτο.
 15 8 ὁ δὲ δὴ στρατηγὸς ὥσπερ τοῦ οἰκείου πάθους ἐκλελησμένος, καίπερ
 χαλεποῦ τε ὄντος ἐξ οὗ προείπομεν πτώματος, καὶ μείζονα τῆς δυνά-
 μεως τὴν ὁδύνην παρεχομένου, ἡμιόνῳ τινὶ ἐπιβάς, οὐ περιβάδην ἀλλὰ
 κατὰ πλευρὰν καὶ ὡς αἱ τῶν θλασθέντων μελῶν ἀλγηδόνες ἐπέτρεπον,
 περιήει καὶ αὐτός, τοὺς προθυμότερους τῶν ταξεωτῶν κατὰ τινας
 20 χρειώδεις τόπους τοῦ τείχους ἐγκαθιστῶν, ὡς ἂν τὸ κατ’ αὐτοὺς τυχόν
 καὶ τοὺς πλησίον πρὸς μίμησιν ἐρεθίζοντες τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον διατί-
 θενται.

28. Οἱ βάρβαροι δὲ οὐχ ἅπαξ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις διὰ πάσης
 ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας συνεφορμήσαντες, μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον πεπληγμένοι
 25 πρὸς τοῦπίσω χωρήσαντες, ὑφ’ ἐνὶ συνθήματι τὴν [πρὸς] καθ’ ὕδατα
 λιπόντες μάχην ὑπανεχώρουν ταῖς ναυσί, | καὶ τινι πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ὄντι
 τῆς πόλεως αἰγιαλῷ προσωρμίσθησαν. 2 εἶτα τῶν νηῶν ἐκβάντες
 πάλιν τοῖς βέλεσιν ἐχρῶντο κατὰ τῶν ἐκεῖσε λαχόντων τὴν στάσιν ἐν
 τῷ μετεώρῳ τείχει, ἐνθα καὶ πύλη τις διεξέχει, ῥώμη καλουμένη, γειτνιά-

had been sent by the emperor, was hurrying up and down the entire length of the wall, encouraging the people in the following words: 'Men of Thessaloniki, I held a different opinion of you before this moment and would not have considered you to be so gallant and daring in action, since you had neither been put to the test nor had you proved yourselves in this sphere in the past. But now the present crisis has afforded an occasion for entertaining high hopes of you. I see that you all have strong bodies and stout hearts, that you are wholly committed to the present action, that you scorn the enemy and that you gallantly brush aside their ruses. You are quite right to do so. For the struggle concerns you yourselves, men of substance and of principle, and it concerns the rest of the city, whose title to fame has no serious contender. If you prove superior to the present peril you will become a fitting object of praise in the estimation of all men. But should you suffer some reverse and succumb to the threats of the barbarians, there will be nothing to which one can liken the extent of your misfortune and the depth of your shame. Therefore, stand your ground courageously and endeavour to secure victory for your native city and for yourselves and do not turn and flee from the enemy, lest, having for the sake of one small moment of weakness placed yourselves in such terrible danger, you leave behind you a novel tale for posterity to tell.' With these fighting words he encouraged the people and went the rounds, instilling no small degree of confidence into the hearts of all. And the strategos,⁶⁶ as though oblivious of his own affliction, though it was grievous (resulting as it did from the fall that we related earlier)⁶⁷ and unbearably painful, also went around, mounted on a mule, not sitting astride it but sidesaddle, to the extent that the pains in his shattered limbs permitted. He posted the more stalwart members of the imperial guard at certain vital points along the wall, so that for their part they might also spur on those near them to imitate their actions, and thus dispose them to battle.

§28. The barbarians attacked not once but several times in the course of that day, but they suffered more casualties than before and withdrew. At a preconcerted signal they suspended operations at sea, retired with their ships and dropped anchor beside a stretch of coast to the east of the city. Then they disembarked and began to shoot at those who were positioned on the high section of wall where the so called 'Rome Gate'⁶⁸ stands, close to

30 ζουσα τῇ θαλάσσει. 3 οὐ δὴ μέχρι βαθείας νυκτὸς μαχεσάμενοι, καὶ ὥσπερ κεκηκότες τῇ ἀγωνίᾳ, καθησύχασαν ταῖς ναυσί, τάχα σκεπτόμενοι πῶς ἐπιθῶνται τῇ ἐξῆς ἡμῖν, καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρας μηχανὰς σκευαζόμενοι. 4 ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς τοῦ πολέμου μικρὸν ἀνεθέντας ἄλλη πάλιν φροντίς ἐπεισῆρχετο, ἐπαγρυπνεῖν τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι διὰ πάσης
35 κύκλωθεν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ὑποβλέπεσθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους, μή τινα λόχον νυκτερινὸν ἢ ἐνέδραν λάθωσι πεπονηκότες καὶ ἐν τῷ τείχει γενόμενοι τὸ πᾶν ἐξανύσωσιν. 5 εἰσὶ γὰρ εὐφυεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα μάλιστα, καὶ ἅμα τῷ διανοηθῆναι πρὸς τὸ ἔργον χωροῦντες, πάντα κίνδυνον εἰς μηδὲν τιθέμενοι, ἐνὶ δὲ μόνῳ προσέχοντες τῷ κατάρξασθαι τοῦ βεβου-
40 λευμένου. 6 κἂν τάχα καὶ ἐναντίως ἢ ὡς ἐφώρασαν τὸ τέλος ἐκβῆ τοῦ πράγματος, δόξαν ἔχειν ἡγοῦνται τὸ τέως ἀδυνάτοις πειραῖσθαι τολμηρῶς ἐπιχειρεῖν. 7 τούτου ἕνεκεν πᾶσαν ἐκείνην ἐπαγρυπνοῦντες ἐτελοῦμεν τὴν νύκτα, οὐδὲν ἑαυτοὺς τῶν προηγωνισμένων μεμφόμενοι· 8 πρὸς τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἤλθομεν θάρσος ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν καθηγούμενον
45 τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν θαύματι γεγονέναι καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι μαθεῖν ὥς ἔσπον | τὴν αἰτίαν, πῶς πρὸς ἐκάστην προσβολὴν οὕτως ἀνδρείως ἀντέστημεν, καὶ ὧν περὶ ἡμῶν ἡκηκόει, πῶς τὰ ἐναντία ἐξέβη, τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ περιτραπίσης.

29. Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ κῆρυξ ἦν ἐπιστὰς ὁ ὀρθρος τῆς δευτέρας τοῦ
50 πολέμου ἡμέρας, καὶ τῶν πραχθέντων ἤδη χαλεπώτερα καθ' ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπινενόητο, ἕκαμνον πάλιν οἱ στρατηγοὶ ταῖς φροντίσι τὸν ἐκάστου θυμὸν διεγείροντες καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς πρόθυμον εἰσηγούμενοι. 2 τῆς ἡλιακῆς οὖν ἁκτίνος τὸν ἀέρα περιλαμπάσης ἐφώρμησαν καὶ αὐθις τῶν νηῶν ἐκβάντες οἱ βάρβαροι τῷ τείχει, διασπαρέντες καὶ
55 κατὰ τινὰς τόπους ταῖς φάλαγξιν ἑαυτοὺς διελόμενοι, κατὰ δὲ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν πυλῶν μᾶλλον συρρεύσαντες ὅλην ἐκίνουν τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πανοπλίαν. 3 οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τοῖς τόξοις, ἕτεροι δὲ χειροποιήτῳ βροντῇ τῶν λίθων ἐκέχρητο· ἄλλοι τοῖς πετροβάλοις ἐγκαθήμενοι τὰς ὑπερμεγέθεις ἐκείνας τῶν πετρῶν χαλάζας μετεωρίζοντες ἔπεμ-
60 πον. 4 καὶ πολυειδῆς τις ἦν ὁ καθ' ἡμῶν ἀπειλούμενος φόνος, καὶ πανταχόθεν προσπίπτων φοβερὰν ἐποίει τὴν πείραν τοῖς προστυγχάνουσι. 5 καὶ γὰρ κατὰ μόνης τῆς ῥηθείσης πύλης ἑπτὰ παρέστησαν πετροβόλους πάντοθεν περιπεφραγμένους, οὓς διερχόμενοι τὴν Θάσον πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην χρεῖαν προπαρεσκεύασαν. 6 καὶ μὴν ξυλοσυνθέτους τινὰς

the sea. They fought there until late into the night and then, apparently fatigued by their exertions, rested on board their ships; though perhaps they were exercising their minds how best to attack us on the following day and were intent on preparing a further series of treacherous and deceitful moves. No sooner, therefore, had we paused a moment from the heat of battle than we were thrown into a further state of anxiety over the level of vigilance maintained by the troops manning the fortifications that ringed the city and the suspicious movements of the barbarians, movements which might be the prelude to a successful ambush carried out under cover of darkness that would allow them to penetrate our defences undetected and thus encompass our destruction. They are in fact extremely clever in this area, and once they have decided to act, they act decisively. Moreover, they are ready to brave any danger as long as they can make a start of putting their plans into action. And even if their plans miscarry, they consider it a glorious achievement to struggle boldly to accomplish what for the time being proves incapable of fulfilment. Accordingly, we stayed awake all that night, even though we had every reason to be proud of our exploits to date. In fact we had displayed a degree of raw courage that had astonished even the leader of the barbarians, who subsequently made a point of learning the reason why we had resisted each attack so valiantly and of ascertaining how things had turned out to be the reverse of what he had heard about us, so that his own expectations had been completely overturned.

§29. But when daybreak came and announced the second day of fighting, the strategoi⁶⁹ once more went to great lengths to put us on our mettle and prepare us for action. As the sun's rays spread daylight over the air, the barbarians disembarked and launched a further attack against the wall. They deployed, distributing themselves along certain points in battle formation. And concentrating their greatest numbers on the openings in the wall where the gates stood, they brought the full weight of their weapons to bear against us. Some used bows and arrows, others the handmade thunder of stones.⁷⁰ Others applied themselves to stone-throwing engines and sent giant hailstones of rock hurtling through the air. Death threatened us in many shapes, and since it came from all directions, it lent a further dimension of terror to the experience of those who happened to be nearby. Against the already-mentioned gate⁷¹ alone they placed seven stone-throwing engines heavily protected on all sides, which they had previously equipped specially for this purpose during their progress by way of Thasos.

- 65 κλίμακας ἀντικρὺ τούτων τῷ τείχει προσπελάσαντες ἀνιέναι δι' αὐτῶν ἐπειρῶντο, τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πετροβόλων ἀφιεμένοις λίθοις τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἑαυτοῖς συντηρούμενοι. 7 οὐ γὰρ εἶων | ἐνδελεχῶς ἐνεργοῦντες ἐκεῖνοι προκύπτειν ἀβλαβῶς τοῦ μετεώρου τείχους τινά. 8 καὶ δὴ εἰς ἔργον αὐτοῖς ἔφθασεν ἂν τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἥδη τὴν κλίμακα ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι τοῦ προ-
- 70 τειχίσματος ἀνελκύσασιν, εἰ μὴ θεία τις δύναμις ἄνδρας τινὰς τολμηροὺς καταπηδῆσαι τῷ τόπῳ ἐνίσχυσεν, οἱ καὶ δόρασι τρώσαντες τοὺς βαρβάρους πρὸς τοῦπίσω σὺν τῇ κλίμακι τούτους ἐναπεκρήμνισαν. 9 οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ταύτην εἰς μηδὲν προβάσαν ἑωρακότων φυγῇ τε χρησαμένων ὥς καὶ τὴν κλίμακα καταλιπεῖν, εἰς τοσοῦτον ἡμεῖς
- 75 ἤλθομεν θάρσος ὥς καὶ γελᾶν κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ προθυμότερον τῆς ἄλλης ἡμέρας τοῖς τε βέλεσι χρῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πετροβόλων λίθοις, καὶ μηκέτι συγχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς κἂν πρὸς βραχὺ προσιέναι τῷ τείχει, κἂν ὅτι πρὸς μανικώτερον ἐξαφθέντες καὶ αὐτοὶ δίκην συὼν ἀγρίων τοὺς ὀδόντας παρέθηγον, καὶ εἰ πως ἐνῆν, ζῶντας ἐθέλειν ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτοῖς διαρρηῆσθαι.
- 80 10 οἷον γὰρ ἦν αὐτῶν φοβερόν ἀκούειν καθ' ἡμῶν μεμνηνόντων! πῶς τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης ὀργῆς ἐπιοιοῦντο τὴν ἐνδείξιν, ὁπότε βύθιον ἔβρυχον καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ στόματος πεμπομένοις ἀφροῖς τὸ δαιμονιώδες αὐτῶν παρεδείκνυτο, 11 οὐδὲ τροφῆς μεταλαβεῖν διὰ πάσης ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας βουλόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἀκορέστως ἔχειν τοῦ πολέμου ἐν οὕτῳ λαβροτάτῳ
- 85 καύματι, καὶ μὴδ' ὅτι σώματα περὶκίευνται καὶ καμάτῳ δαμαζόμενα καὶ τῷ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἡλίῳ καυσούμενα παντελῶς αἰσθανόμενοι, τοῦτο δὲ μόνον διὰ φροντίδος ἔχοντες, ἢ πορθῆσαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν ἀναπλῆσαι θυμόν, ἢ <μὴ> προ|βαίνοντος τούτου καὶ τῆς ζωῆς ἀπειπεῖν καὶ ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ὅπλοις διαχειρίσασθαι. 12 θυμὸς γὰρ ἄπαξ βαρβαρικός
- 90 ἐξαφθεὶς οὐ πρότερον τῆς κινούσης αὐτὸν ἀλογίστου ὀρμῆς ἀπολήξειε, μέχρις ἂν ἡ τοῦ οἴκειου αἵματος ἡ τοῦ ἐξ ἐναντίας ἀντιπράττοντος ἴδη τὴν ἔκχυσιν.

30. Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὸ προσπελάζειν αὐτοὺς τῷ τείχει οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον ἦν, πάντα τοῖς βέλεσι καὶ τοῖς πετροβόλοις ἐπέτρεπον. 2 στιχηδὸν γὰρ
- 95 ἑαυτοὺς κατατάξαντες, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀποστάντες ὅσον τὰς βολὰς αὐτῶν μήπω τῆς ὀρμῆς ὑπενδιδούσης τῇ πόλει προσπίπτειν, ταῖς ἀσπίσι τε φραζάμενοι καὶ ὅλοι τῆς ἀγωνίας γενόμενοι, ἴσταντο καθάπερ τινὲς ἀνδριάντες ἐκ χαλκοῦ ἢ τινος ἄλλης στερροτέρας ὕλης συμπεπηγότα ἔχοντες σώματα, μυρίῳ τινὶ καὶ ἀνεκδιηγῆτῳ καρτεροῦντες πόνῳ καὶ πρὸς
- 5 τὸν πόλεμον ἀμιλλώμενοι. 3 τοῦ γὰρ ἡλίου κατὰ τὸ μέσον ἄγοντος τὴν ἡμέραν, ὅτε καὶ ταῖς βολαῖς τῶν ἀκτίνων τὸν ἀέρα πλέον τῶν ἄλλων ὥρῳ διαπυροῖ, τῇ ἀκμῇ τοῦ καύματος ὥσπερ τὴν φυσικὴν ἐκκαύσαντες λύσσαν, καὶ τὸν ἄλογον ἐκείνον θυμὸν ταῖς ἀπονοαῖς προσερεθίσαντες,

In front of these they brought up wooden ladders, which they placed against the wall and tried to climb up, providing themselves with cover by means of a barrage of stones from the stone-throwing engines, whose relentless fire made it impossible for anyone to venture forth with impunity on to the wall. And already they had attached a ladder to the battlements of the outwork and their plan would have been realized, had not a heavenly power given certain daring men the strength to leap down on to the spot. They wounded the barbarians with their spears and sent them pitching backwards together with the ladder. When they saw that this strategem too had failed, they fled and even left the ladder behind. We were so far emboldened as to mock them and to hurl missiles at them and stones from the stone-throwing engines even more eagerly than on the day before. And we no longer allowed them to get anywhere near the wall for even a short time, even though they were kindled to greater fury and sharpened their tusks like wild boars and would have torn us up alive with them, had it been possible. How terrifying it was to hear them raving like maniacs against us! What towering fits of anger they displayed, when they gnashed their teeth furiously and their demonic nature was revealed by the way they continually foamed at the mouth! Nor would they take any food throughout the entire course of that day but were insatiable for battle in spite of the tremendous heat. Indeed they were not even vaguely aware of the fact that their own bodies were broken with fatigue and scorched by the sun which was beating down on their heads. Their one preoccupation was either to sack the city and vent their rage upon us or, in the event of failure, to despair of life and to dispatch themselves with their own weapons. For once the wrath of the barbarians has been kindled, it is borne along by an unreasoning impulse, and will not desist until it witnesses the shedding of its own or its opponent's blood.

§30. But since it was highly dangerous for them to approach the wall, they relied exclusively on missiles and on stone-throwing engines. Drawing themselves up in rows, they took their stand some distance away yet near enough for their shots to fall upon the city with undiminished force. Protecting themselves with their shields and throwing their entire being into the struggle, they stood like statues with bodies of bronze or some other hard material and displayed limitless qualities of endurance and a fighting spirit that defied description. And in fact, when the sun was in its noonday course, when more than any other time of day it heats the air up like a furnace, they kindled their inborn fury with that last extreme of heat and goading their irrational frenzy still further with the stimulus of despair, they

ἐφ' ἕτερον εἶδος πολιορκίας (καὶ σκόπει πῶς χαλεπὸν) τὴν ὁρμὴν μετη-
 10 γάγοντο. 4 τεττάρων γὰρ πυλῶν πρὸς τῷ ἀνατολικῷ μέρει τῆς πόλεως
 διεξαγουσῶν, ἐσκέψαντο τὰς δύο αὐτῶν πυρὶ τεφρῶσαι, τὴν τε ῥηθεῖσαν
 Ῥώμην καὶ τὴν Κασσανδρεωτικὴν καλουμένην, 5 τοῦτο ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ
 θέμενοι, ὥς εἰ δυνηθεῖεν τῶν ἔξω πυλῶν καιομένων εἰσὼ χωρῆσαι τοῦ
 προτειχίσματος καὶ | τὸ μετέωρον ὑποδύσασθαι τεῖχος, μηδένα φόβον
 15 ἔχειν πρὸς τὸ καὶ τὰς ἔνδον κακουργῆσαι καὶ τῇ πόλει πάντας ὕφ' ἐν
 συνελάσαι, ἐξ ἐναντίας παραστησάμενοι τοξότας εὐστόχους τε καὶ δει-
 νούς, ὥς ἂν τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῶν βελῶν μὴ ἔαν ἀκινδύνως προκύπτειν τῶν
 ἔνδον τινά.

31. Καὶ δὴ τοῦ τεχνάσματος οὕτως ἐνήρξαντο. 2 ἀμάξας ἐφευρόντες
 20 ἐπέθηκαν ἐν αὐταῖς πρηνεῖς τὰς βραχυτάτας νῆας, αἷς πρὸς τὴν θήραν τῶν
 ἰχθύων οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀλιεῖς ἐκέχρητο, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τινων ἄλλων ξύλων
 πληθύν καὶ φρυγάνων σωρεῖαν· ἅτινα πίσσῃ καὶ θεάφῳ καταρράναντες
 καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας ὑποδύντες ἔστρεφον τοὺς ἄξονας, ἄγοντες αὐτὰς ταῖς
 25 χερσίν, ἕως ἔφθασαν μέχρις αὐτῶν τῶν πυλῶν. 3 εἶτα τὴν ὕλην ἐκείνην
 ὑφάψαντες, καὶ ὀπισθόποδες ταῖς ἀσπίσι φραζάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς τοξότας
 χωρήσαντες, ἔλαθον τὸ βεβουλευμένον εἰς ἔργον ἀγαγεῖν. 4 τὸ πῦρ γὰρ
 τῆς ὕλης λαβόμενον καὶ τοῖς ὑπεκκαύμασι πρὸς μείζονα φλόγα διεγερθὲν
 τὴν μὲν ἔξω τῶν πυλῶν ἐπιφάνειαν, ἥτις ἦν ἅπασα σεσιδηρωμένη,
 πυρακτωθῆναι πεποίθηκε, τὴν λαμπάδα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ εἰσὼ μετοχευῆσαν
 30 ἐξαφθῆναι δι' ὅλου τὰς πύλας ἠνάγκασεν, ὥς μετὰ βραχὺ ταύτας κατα-
 πεσεῖν καὶ δειλίαν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἅπασιν ἐμβαλεῖν. 5 μόνον γὰρ ὅτι
 καθ' ὅλης ἐκηρύχθη τῆς πόλεως ἡ τῶν πυλῶν ἑκκαυσις, καὶ καθάπερ τινὸς
 ξίφους ὑποδραμόντος τὰς ἀπάντων καρδίας, οὕτως ἐναγωνίους καὶ τρο-
 μώδεις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πεποίηκε, τὰς μορφὰς ἀλλοιώσαντας καὶ πᾶσαν
 35 χρηστὴν ἀθρόον προδεδωκότας ἐλπίδα. 6 καὶ γὰρ οἱ πρὸ βραχέος τοῖς
 τείχεσιν ἐξαλλόμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν διὰ
 μάχης ἀγῶνα ἀλλήλους ἐγκελευόμενοι πτωκῶν ἀδρανέστεροι ταῖς ἀλη-
 θεαῖς ἐδείκνυντο. 7 αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο, τὸ τὴν μηχανὴν ἐκείνην εἰς ἔργον
 ἐκβῆναι, μαντεύεσθαι τοῦ τέλους ταῖς ἀπάντων ἐδίδου ψυχαῖς, 8 πλήν
 40 ὅτι τῶν ἔξω πυλῶν πυρποληθισῶν τὰς ἔνδον ἡμεῖς τειχίῳ τινὶ νεοδο-
 μήτῳ θᾶπτον περιφραζάμενοι, ὕδατά τε ταῖς ἐπάλξεσιν ἐν τισὶ προαπο-
 θέμενοι σκεύεσιν, ἐφυλαττόμεθα, πότε καὶ πρὸς ταύτας τυχὸν ἐφορμή-
 σουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἵν' ὅτε τῆς κακουργίας καὶ αὐθις ἐπιχειρήσωσιν,
 ἔχωμεν ὅπως τῆς φλογὸς ἀντιποιησόμεθα καὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἀπειράτους

threw all their energies into a different (and particularly deadly) kind of siege. There were four gates⁷² in the wall on the east side of the city. Two of these, the previously mentioned Rome Gate, and the so-called Kassandreiotic Gate,⁷³ they planned to burn down. The idea was that, if they could penetrate the outwork when the outer gates were burnt down and creep up to the high wall, they could wreck the inner gates without having anything to fear and pen everyone up in the city by posting expert archers opposite the wall to shoot their arrows continually and prevent anyone inside from venturing out.

§31. They set about their cunning plan in the following way: They found carts on which they placed upside down very small boats of the kind our fishermen use to fish with, adding a great quantity of firewood and a pile of brushwood. Then they sprinkled it all with pitch and sulphur, put their shoulders to the carts, set their wheels in motion and guided them with their hands until they reached the gates. Then they lit the wood from underneath and covering themselves with their shields, went back to the archers, having carried out their plan unnoticed. The fire took hold of the wood, feeding its flame until it flared up and caused the outer surface of the gates, which were iron-plated, to turn white-hot. Then the white heat, spreading inwards, reduced the gates to a sheet of flame, so that in a short time they collapsed, which threw everyone into a state of abject fear. No sooner was the news reported throughout the city that the gates had been burnt down than the effect was as though everyone had been stabbed through the heart; such was the state of terror and dejection to which people were reduced, as the colour drained from their cheeks, and as they abandoned abruptly every confident expectation. And those who a short while ago had been leaping down from the walls and keeping the enemy at bay and exhorting others to join in the fray were showing themselves in actual fact to be feebler than hares. The mere fact that that cunning expedient had succeeded gave more than a hint to everyone of what might be the end. Nevertheless, now that the outer gates had been destroyed by fire, we quickly protected the inner ones with a new wall. And we put water in containers on the battlements and kept a close watch in case the enemy should by any chance launch an attack against these gates too, so that when they tried to cause further damage, we might have some means of contending with the flames and preserving the gates from their treacherous

45 τὰς πύλας διατηρήσομεν. 9 ὁ δὲ καὶ γνόντες ἐκεῖνοι οὐκέτι ταῖς τοιαύ-
ταις κακοβουλίαις ἐχρήσαντο, ἐτέραις δέ τισιν ἔμελλον δεινότεραις ἔτι καὶ
σφοδροτέραις τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιτηδεύειν ὄλεθρον, ὃν οὐδεμιᾷ μεθόδῳ τοῦ
λοιποῦ δυνατὸν ἦν διακρούσασθαι ἐνεργῇ τε ὄντα καὶ πᾶσαν μηχανὴν
ὑπερβαίνοντα. 10 πλὴν οὕτω τοῦ πυρὸς παυσαμένου τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς
50 ἡμέρας τοῖς πετροβόλοις ἐχρῶντο καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ τοῖς τόξοις, μέχρις ἂν τὸ
νυκτερινὸν σκότος τὸ φῶς διεδέξατο καὶ τῆς ἀγωνίας παύεσθαι μηδὲ
βουλομένους αὐτοὺς κατηνάγκασεν.

32. Εἶτα ἐπειδὴ τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἐπαύσαντο, ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐμβάντες καὶ τι
μικρὸν ἡσυχάσαντες ἤρχοντο τοῦ δράματος ὅπερ ἦσαν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν
55 δεινότησι προεξευρημένοι. 2 τὸ δὲ ἦν τοιαύτην | αὐτοῖς ἀπόπειραν
ἐμποιοῦν, ὥς εἰ μὲν δι' αὐτοῦ δυνηθεῖεν τὴν πόλιν πορθήσιν, εὖ ἂν ἔχοιεν,
διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἄλλο τῶν εἰς πολιορκίαν συντεινόντων ἴσα δύνασθαι τούτου,
καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν ἀφ' ὕδατων ἔστιν ἡ μάχη καὶ μὴ μεσιτεύη χέρσος τὴν
ἐπιβουλήν διακόπτουσα. 3 εἰ δέ γε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὦν προενήργησαν
60 καὶ τοῦτο εἰς μηδὲν αὐτοῖς συνετέλεσειε, τοὺς εἰς τοῦτο παρορμήσαντας
αὐτοὺς καὶ τοσοῦτον πλοῦν διανύσαι μάτην ἀποπλανήσαντας τοῖς
ὅπλοις διαχειρίσασθαι, καὶ οὕτως ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῳις ἀπαίρειν. 4 ταύτην οὖν
παρ' ἑαυτοῖς θέμενοι τὴν βουλήν, ἔτι κατ' ἀρχὰς οὔσης τῆς νυκτός, τοῦ
ποικίλου καὶ πολυειδοῦς ἐκείνου ἀπήρξαντο μηχανήματος. 5 ὑφάψαντες
65 γὰρ πανταχοῦ φῶτα, καὶ πάσας αὐτῶν τὰς νῆας κατὰ δύο συζεύξαντες
ἐτέραν τῆς ἐτέρας ἐχομένην, καὶ τισι κάλοις στιβαροῖς καὶ σιδηραῖς ἀλύ-
σεσι τὰς ἐκατέρων πλευρὰς ἐν ἀλλήλαις συσφίγγαντες πρὸς τὸ μὴ ῥαδίως
ἀφίστασθαι, ἀνείλκυσαν διὰ τῶν κατὰ πρῶραν ἀπηλωμένων ἐξαρτίων
τὰ διὰ μέσου προβεβλημένα ξύλα, ἃ τοῖς ναυτιλλομένοις κατάρτια
70 καλεῖν ἔθος. 6 εἶτα τοὺς τῶν ἐκατέρων νηῶν αὐχένας ἐν τούτοις
διὰ τῶν εἰς τὴν κεφαλίδαν στρεφόμενων σχοινίων μέσον που τοῦ ἀέρος
μετεωρήσαντες, τὰς τε σπάθας αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ πρῶραν μέρους καὶ
πέρα τῆς τῶν νηῶν διαμέτρου προβεβληκότες, ξένον τι καὶ παρηλλαγ-
μένον πανούργημα διὰ τοῦ τοιοῦτου τεχνάσματος ἐτεκτίναντο. 7 ὑψοῦ
75 γὰρ, ὥς ἔφην, τῶν αὐχένων μετεωρηθέντων, ἔβαλλον ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπι-
θέντες μακρὰ τινα ξύλα στιχηδὸν ἄλλο κατ' ἄλλο, καὶ τὸν διὰ μέσου
τόπον γεώσαντες τῇ σεσοφισμένη ταύτῃ μηχανῇ, τὰ πέρατά τε
πάντοθεν σανίσι καταφραζάμενοι, καὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῶν αὐχένων ἐν τοῖς
κατὰ πρύμναν μέρεσιν ἄλλοις στιβαρωτάτοις δεσμοῖς ἐνασφαισάμενοι,
80 πύργους τινὰς τῶν εἰς τὴν χέρσον ἐν τῷ τείχει καθισταμένων χρειωδεστέ-
ρους τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ ταύτῃ κατετεχνάσαντο, 8 ἐν οἷς ἐνόπλους τινὰς βαρβάρους
ἐπανεβίβασαν, ῥώμῃ σωμάτων καὶ τολμηρίᾳ φύσεως ἀνεσταλμένους, τὴν

designs. When they realized this, however, they no longer resorted to these particular evil tactics. Yet by resorting to other tactics still more cunning and more violent, they were destined to bring about our destruction by a means so effective and so far surpassing all contrivance that it was henceforth in no wise possible to stave it off. They employed this pause in their incendiarism by shooting at us with stone-throwers and with bows during the rest of the day until darkness succeeded daylight and put an obligatory stop to their exertions.

§32. Then, when they had stopped fighting, they went aboard their ships and after a brief spell of inaction, they began to carry out the plan of attack they had cunningly contrived beforehand. The plan involved a peculiar kind of gamble. If, thanks to it, they should be able to sack the city, they would have an easy success since there is no more effective siege tactic in existence, especially when the offensive is conducted from the water with no intervening dry land to cramp one's style. But if, along with their previous ventures, this too were to fail, they would first dispatch with their weapons those who had put the idea into their heads and had made them sail so far to no purpose, and then would return home. Having agreed, therefore, upon this plan, they began early in the night to put into effect their complicated scheme. Lighting lamps everywhere, they coupled the ships together in adjacent pairs and lashed their sides together with stout cables and iron chains so that they would not easily drift apart. Then they hoisted by means of the rigging at the fore the pieces of wood that stand up in the middle, which sailors call masts, and attaching by their handles to these the steering-paddles of each ship, they slung them high up in the air across the ropes leading to the prow so that their blades projected beyond the side of the ship. The result was a remarkable and novel contraption. For when the steering paddles had been suspended aloft by their handles in the manner described, they placed long strips of wood over them in rows, one next to the other, flooring in by this ingenious method the intervening space. They then fenced in the edges on all sides with boards, and secured the ends of the steering-paddle handles by making them fast to very strong cables at the stern end of the ships. In this manner they devised towers that were more effective than those surmounting walls on dry land. In them they posted armed barbarians, an élite force mounted aloft on account of their physical

καθ' ἡμῶν ὑστάτην καὶ τελευταίαν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐνεργήσοντας. 9 ἐπέτρεπον γὰρ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν βάλλειν τοῖς τόξοις κατὰ τῶν ἐνδοτέρων τοῦ
 85 τείχους ἐστώτων, τοὺς δὲ τοῖς χειροπληθέσι λίθοις· 10 ἄλλους πυρί τινι, καὶ τῷ τετεχνημένῳ καὶ τισιν ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσι προηυτρεπισμένῳ, καθοπλίσαντες κατὰ τῶν ἀντιπρόσωπον αὐτῶν ἐρχομένων προσέταττον ἀκοντίζειν. 11 ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐνεργῇ τε καὶ ἐπιτήδεια διὰ τὸ μηκέτι περὶ γῆν αὐτοῖς εἶναι ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῷ προλεχθέντι κακούργῳ
 90 τεχνάσματι ὑψηλοτέρους αὐτοὺς καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς οἰκοδομῆς γενέσθαι τοῦ τείχους καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῶν κακόνοιαν ὡς ἀπὸ μετεώρου χρειώδη συμβαίνειν.

33. Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα πάντα κατ' αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα εἰς ἔργον ἦχθη τοῖς ἀσεβέσιν, οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν πραττομένων τέως ἐλάνθανεν
 95 ἡμᾶς διὰ τό, ὡς εἴρηται, φῶτα ἔχειν αὐτοὺς πολλὰ καὶ πλησίον εἶναι τὸν αἰγιαλὸν εἰς ὃν αὐτοῖς τὰ δόξαντα | διεσπούδαστο, ἔλαβε πάντας φόβος καὶ ἔκπληξις, καὶ οὐκ εἶχον ᾧ τινι τοῦ λοιποῦ τρόπῳ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἑαυτοῖς συντηρήσονται. 2 ἦν γὰρ ἰδεῖν τὸν δῆμον ὅλον δι' ὅλου κλονούμενόν τε καὶ ἀπορούμενον, ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἀμηχανοῦντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν
 5 ζωὴν κινδυνεύοντα. 3 οὐ γὰρ ὅπως ἕκαστος ἀποκρούσεται τὴν ἐφεστῶσαν ἀνάγκην διὰ φροντίδος εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ πῶς ἡ μεθ' οἷας ἀλγηδόνας τῷ θανάτῳ προσομιλήσει τοῖς λογισμοῖς κατετέμενετο. 4 φυγεῖν μὲν γὰρ οὐκέτι οὔτε πρόχειρον οὔτε ἀσφαλὲς ἦν, κύκλῳ τοῦ τείχους τῶν βαρβάρων περιεστώτων καὶ κατὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἐφεδρευόντων. 5 προσμένειν δὲ
 10 πάλιν ὁ κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς οὐκ ἐδίδου κίνδυνος. πᾶσαν οὖν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας προδόντες, καθάπερ ἔννεοί τινες τὸ τεῖχος διήμειβον, τῷ μεγέθει τῆς συμφορᾶς ἀπορούμενοι. 6 πλὴν ἔδοξέ τισιν, ὅσοις οὐ κατέσβη τελείως τῆς ἀνδρίας ἡ θρυαλλίς, μεταξὺ τῆς προσδοκίας τῶν πολεμίων προευντρεπίσαι τινὰ τῷ τείχει εἰς ἀποτροπὴν τῶν ἐπερχομένων. 7 τὰ δὲ ἦν
 15 πίσσα καὶ δᾶδες καὶ ἄσβεστος καὶ τινὰ ἄλλα, οἷς τρέφονται τάχος πυρὸς φλόγες, σκεύεσιν ὀστρακίνοις ἐπιτετηδευμένα, ὡς ἂν τῶν νηῶν τυχὸν ἐφορμουσῶν τούτοις χρώμενοι· καὶ διὰ μέσου τούτων ἐξακοντίζοντες ἀπράκτους αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆσδε τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἀποδείξουσιν.

34. Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἀνθρώπων ἦν ἀπορουμένων ἔργα καὶ διαβούλια,
 20 ἥδη δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ φῶς τὸν νυκτερινὸν ζόφον διέλυνεν, ἰδοὺ δὴ καὶ αἱ νῆες, ὡς εἶχον σκευῆς, κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους διαιρεθεῖσαι τῷ τείχει προσέρρηξαν, καινόν τι καὶ παράδοξον θέαμα ταῖς ἀπάντων ὄψεσι προδεικνύμεναι· 2 ἑκάστη γὰρ αὐτῶν συζυγία ἐπεφέρετο τὴν σεσοφισμένην ἐκείνην τῶν ξυλοσυνθέτων πύργων κατασκευὴν, πολλῷ τῷ μέτρῳ τὴν τοῦ
 25 τείχους οἰκοδομὴν ὑπερβαίνουσαν, ἄνωθέν τε τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐξαλλομέ-

strength and natural daring and destined to deal us the *coup de grâce*. They ordered some to shoot arrows, others to fling large stones (big enough to fill a man's hand) at those manning the inner circuit of the fortification. Others were equipped with fire (it too artificially contrived) which had been prepared in advance in earthenware vessels and which they were instructed to hurl at those advancing to confront them. All these expedients were effective and appropriate because they no longer had to operate on land but, thanks to the devilish invention already described, had been placed on a higher level than the structure of the fortification and they were thus provided with a useful vantage point for the accomplishment of their evil designs.

§33. But when on that same night these impious men had brought all their preparations into effect and no detail of what was being done escaped our notice because, as has been pointed out, they had plentiful illumination and the beach on which they had forged ahead with their plans was nearby, all of us were overcome by fear and consternation, not knowing how to preserve our safety for the future. One could see that the entire population was in a state of utter confusion and helplessness, unable to make up their minds from one moment to the next, and that their very lives were in jeopardy. There was indeed no concern to ward off impending disaster, only a morbid obsession with the question of how soon and how painfully death would occur. Flight was no longer an available or a safe option with the barbarians occupying positions all around the wall and keeping a close watch on the gates. Yet the danger that met the eye made waiting out of the question. Abandoning all hope of safety, they walked as though dazed up and down the wall, completely overwhelmed by the magnitude of their misfortune. But some, in whose hearts the flame of courage had not been entirely extinguished, decided while waiting for the enemy to make some preparations to defend the wall and repel their advance. These consisted of pitch, firebrands, quicklime and other flammable substances⁷⁴ got ready in earthenware vessels⁷⁵ for possible use against ships riding at anchor, the idea being to hurl these objects in their midst and put them out of action.

§34. Nevertheless, these were the actions and decisions of bewildered men. Already the light of day was dissolving the darkness of night, when lo and behold! The ships, distributed at several points according to their equipment, crashed against the wall, presenting to the eyes of all a novel and extraordinary spectacle. Each pair of ships brought along its own ingeniously constructed wooden turret, which hugely overtopped the

νους καθάπερ τινὰς ἐξοιστρημένους τὰύρους, καὶ τὸν ὄλεθρον ἅπασιν
 ἐπισείοντας. 3 τότε δὴ τότε, ὅσοι τοῦ δήμου τῆς πόλεως τοῦ μὲν
 θανάτου καταφρονήσαντες ἀφύκτου τε ὄντος καὶ κατὰ κόρης, ὡς εἶπεν,
 ἵσταμένου ὅλοι τῆς ἀγωνίας ἐγένοντο, ἐπίδειξιν ἀνδρίας τοῦ κινδύνου τὴν
 30 ἀκμήν ποιησάμενοι ἔστησαν γενναίως ἀθλοῦντες ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ τὰ παρ'
 ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐπεδείκνυτο. 4 οὐ γὰρ εἶων τέλεον πλησιάζειν
 τὰς νῆας, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν τοῖς συχνοῖς βέλεσι τὸ δὲ τοῖς τοῦ πυρὸς ὑπεκκαύ-
 μασιν ἀπείργον αὐτὰς τοῦ προσπελάζειν τῷ τείχει καὶ τὰ παρ' ἑαυτῶν
 ἐνεργεῖν. 5 ὅσοι δὲ τῇ δειλίᾳ τὴν ψυχὴν βληθέντες οὐδὲ προσβλέπειν
 35 τοῦ κακοῦ τὴν πείραν ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν ἀμηχανίας ἐξίσχουν, ἑαυτοὺς τοῦ
 τείχους κατὰ μικρὸν ὑποσύροντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκρωρείας τῆς πόλεως ἔφευγον,
 καὶ λοιπὸν θαρρεῖν ἐδίδουν τοῖς ἐναντίοις. 6 ὡς γὰρ εἶδον κατὰ τινα
 τόπον τοῦ τείχους τὴν οἰκοδομὴν πλεον τῶν ἄλλων διαρρυσάν, ἔνθα
 καὶ τοὺς ξυλίνους ἦμεν προπεπηγότες προβόλους, ἔγνω δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς
 40 θαλάσσης ὕδωρ ἐν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον τῷ τόπῳ διὰ βάθους χωροῦν, μίαν
 συζυγίαν τῶν ἐξευγμένων ἐκεῖ συνελάσαντες ὥθουν ταῖς ἡλώπαις κατὰ
 μικρὸν, ἕως ἔφθασαν πλησίον ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς ἐπ' ἄλγεσι τὰ κατὰ πρόωρον
 τῶν νηῶν προσπελάσαντες. 7 εἶτα ὡς ἐπεχείρουν κατ' αὐτῶν λίθους
 βόλλειν οἱ τοῖς ξυλίνοις ἐγκαθήμενοι προβόλοις, μέγαν τινὰ καὶ τραχύν
 45 ἀλαλαγμὸν ἐμβοήσαντες ἄνω τῶν ῥηθέντων μηχανημάτων ἐστῶτες οἱ
 βάρβαροι, λίθοις τε βαλόντες οὐκέτι χειροπληθέσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν
 παμμεγέθεσι καὶ ὧν οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο τὴν φορὰν ὑπομεῖναι, πῦρ τε διὰ τῶν
 σιφώνων τῷ ἀέρι φυσήσαντες, καὶ τινα ἄλλα σκεύη καὶ αὐτὰ πυρὸς
 ἀνάμεστα εἶσω τοῦ τείχους ἐξακοντίσαντες, εἰς τοσαύτην ἐκπληξιν καὶ
 50 δειλίαν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς προβόλοις ὄντας ἐνέβαλον ὡς καταπηδησαι τὸ τάχος
 καὶ πρὸς φυγὴν ἐκτραπῆναι καὶ κενὸν ἅπαντα τὸν περίπατον τοῦ τείχους
 καταλιπεῖν. 8 ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ τέλος εἶδον τῶν βεβουλευμένων (πάντες γὰρ
 καθάπερ ἐξ ἀνέμου φύλλα πρὸς τὴν γῆν κατεφέροντο, οὐδὲ κατὰ τῶν
 κλιμάκων, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν αὐτοὺς ὁ φόβος κατήπειγεν), ἕνα τινὰ τολμηρὸν
 55 βάρβαρον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς εἰκὸς μανικώτερον, Αἰθίοπα τὴν χροιάν,
 ταῖς ἐπ' ἄλγεσιν ἐπαφῆκαν. 9 ὁ δὲ τὴν μάχαιραν ἦν ἔτυχε ταῖς χερσὶ
 κατέχων ἀναρριπίζων, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ἀλλόμενος, ἐπέμενε σκοπῶν
 τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ πλήθους, εἴ γε μὴ πρὸς ἀπάτην ἀλλὰ πρὸς τελείαν φυγὴν
 ἐκεῖθεν ἐξέκλινε. 10 καὶ γὰρ ὑφωρῶντο μὴ τινα κεκρυμμένην ἐνέδραν
 60 ἔχωσιν οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἐν ταῖς ἀγυιαῖς, δι' ἧς αὐτοὺς εἰς πολλὰ διαιρεθέντας
 δολερῶς κακουργήσονται, καὶ ἀμφέβαλλον τέως μὴ ἀπροόπτως οὕτως

structure of the fortification and held aloft its freight of barbarians leaping up like frenzied bulls and threatening everybody with destruction. Whereupon, all that part of the population of the city that had come to think nothing of death, since it was both inevitable and staring them, so to speak, in the face, threw themselves unreservedly into the struggle. Making of the moment of maximum danger an occasion for displaying their courage, they stood their ground and fought like heroes; every man did his utmost. In fact, they did not allow the ships to get anywhere near, but by showering them with missiles and firebrands, they prevented them from approaching the wall and putting their plans into effect. But those who were smitten with cowardice and in their utter helplessness lacked the strength to even consider the experience of misfortune let themselves down gradually from the wall and fled to the mountainous part of the city, giving further encouragement thereby to the enemy. When, in fact, the latter saw that the structure of the wall was in a more serious state of disrepair in one place than anywhere else (it was the spot where we had earlier erected wooden breastworks), and noticed also that the sea was deeper just at that point, they propelled in that direction one of the pairs of ships that had been lashed together, rowing gently until they got near and had brought the bows of the ships right up to the battlement. Then, when the men on the wooden fortifications tried to hurl stones at them, the barbarians who were standing on top of the contraptions previously described uttered a loud and raucous cry, let fly with huge stones (which were not just big enough to fill a man's hand this time but were absolutely enormous) whose impact none could withstand, blew fire by means of air through tubes,⁷⁶ hurled other receptacles also filled with fire into the fortifications and struck such terror into the hearts of the defenders that they leaped down swiftly and took to their heels, leaving the entire stretch of wall deserted. When the enemy saw that they had achieved their end (the defenders had all fallen to earth like leaves in the wind, not alighting by means of ladders but crashing down in terror) they sent against the fortifications a particularly daring barbarian with the complexion of an Ethiopian, who was apparently more frenzied than the others. He had a sword in his hand, which he brandished as he leaped down from the wall. Then he waited for the crowd to surge forward, trying to discover whether they had made off in feigned or in genuine flight. For they suspected that the inhabitants might have laid some hidden ambush for them in the streets, in order to waylay them once they had split up into separate groups. Consequently, they were reluctant to

προσχωρεῖν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἐνεργεῖν. 11 ὅτε δὲ ταῖς ῥιπίσει τῆς βαρβαρικῆς μαχαίρας ἐξαστράπτων ὁ ἀήρ κατάδηλον ἐποίει πανταχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων τὴν εἴσοδον (καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὥρα τρίτη τῆς 65 ἡμέρας), τότε δὴ πάντες τοῦ κακοῦ τὴν ἔκβασιν θεασάμενοι ἐτρέποντο ἄλλος ἄλλαχού, τῷ θανάτῳ συνελανόμενοι. 12 ὁ δὲ ἦν ἐφεστῶς καὶ μηδεμίαν τοῦ λοιποῦ παραχωρῶν ἐπίνοιαν δι' ἧς αὐτὸν ὑπεκκλίνωσιν.

35. Εἶτα ὡς ἅπαν κενωθέν τὸ τεῖχος εἶδον οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἑαυτοῖς εἶχον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πλήθους ἀνυποστάτου φυγῆς, σπουδῇ 70 τῶν νηῶν ἐκβάντες καὶ τῶν ἐπάλξεων εἰσω καταπηδήσαντες τὰς τε πύλας ἀναρριπίσαντες ἐδήλουν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ναυσὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων τὸ πέρας, 2 αἵτινες σπουδῇ καὶ αὐταὶ παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους ἐγγύθεν προσορμισθεῖσαι ἐπεμπον τῇ πόλει τοὺς βαρβάρους, τὰ σώματα γεγυμνωμένους, μικρῷ τινι μόνῳ περιβολαίῳ τὰ κατὰ τὴν αἰδῶ συγκαλύπτοντας, 75 τὰς μαχαίρας ἔχοντας ἐν χερσίν· 3 οἱ καὶ ἔνδον γενόμενοι πρῶτον μὲν οὓς εὗρον ἔτι περὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐνστρεφόμενους, εἴτε τῷ φόβῳ βληθέντας καὶ κινητῆναι μὴ δυναμένους παρεθέντος αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ φόβου τοῦ σώματος, εἴτε πάλιν τοῖς ῥηθείσι πτώμασι συνθλασθέντας καὶ πρὸς τὴν φυγὴν ἀπελπίσαντας, τούτους τὸ τάχος ἀνείλον, εἴθ' οὕτω ταῖς λεωφόροις 80 κατεμερίσθησαν. 4 τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῆς πόλεως εἰς πολλὰ μέρη τμηθὲν διεθρυλλεῖτό τε καὶ συνέχετο, οὐκ ἔχον ὅπου περισωθεῖν ἢ τὴν συμφορὰν διακρούσεται. 5 ἦν γὰρ ἰδεῖν τότε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὥς ἀκυβέρνητα σκάφη τῇδε κάκεισε περιφερόμενους, ἔλεεινὸν θέαμα, ἄνδρας γυναικας νήπια, ἀλλήλοις συμπίπτοντας, ἀλλήλων ἐκκρεμαμένους, ἀσπαζομένους 85 τὸν οἰκτιστὸν ἐκείνον καὶ τελευταῖον ἀσπασμόν. 6 εἴ ποῦ τις καὶ πατήρ ἐν αὐτοῖς πρεσβύτες, ἐπιπεσὼν τῷ τραχήλῳ τοῦ παιδὸς δεινὸν ἐπεκώκυε, τὸν χωρισμὸν οὐ φέρων, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέλη κατέχων τοῦ φιλτάτου, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ξίφους τῷ φυσικῷ νυττόμενος πάθει τὸν θρῆνον ἑαυτῷ διετίθει, 7 „φεῦ μοι“ λέγων, „ὦ παῖ, ἐν τίσι νῦν ἐξετάζομαι καὶ τίνα ταῦτα τοῖς 90 ὀφθαλμοῖς καθορῶ; 8 εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ σε ἐπιμελῶς ἐξέθρεψα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σε παιδευταῖς ἐξεδόμην καὶ συνέσει διαπρέπειν ἐν τοῖς ὁμήλινι διεσπούδασα, ἵν' ὅτε προσεδόκων ζηλωτὸς μὲν εἶναι τῇ εὐπαιδίᾳ, ἐπίφθονος δὲ τῇ ἐπίσοι καυχῇσει, μακαριώτερος δὲ πολλῶν ἄλλων πατέρων ὡς τοιοῦτον ἔχων εὐπρεπέστατον τέκνον, ἐράσμιον μὲν τὴν ἡλικίαν τοῦ σώματος, 95 ἐρασμιώτερον δὲ τοῦ προσώπου τὴν θέαν καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν

enter the city, and set about their task without first taking precautions. But then (it was the third hour of the day) the glint of swords brandished by barbarian hands flashed like lightning through the air and revealed at every point the entry of the enemy. Beholding that disaster had well and truly struck, people all began to mill about in different directions, herded together by death, which loomed over them and left no further loophole for escape.

§35. Then, when the barbarians saw that the entire wall had been cleared and that the mass desertion of its defenders now guaranteed their safety, they sallied forth eagerly from the ships, leaped down on to the battlements and set fire to the gates, thus signalling to the other ships that their mission had been accomplished. These too hove swiftly into sight and dispatched against the city their contingents of barbarians, naked except for a small loincloth, and armed with swords. Once these barbarians were inside, they slew all those whom they found writhing about on the ground in the vicinity of the wall, regardless of whether they found them prostrated and paralysed with fear and so unable to move or languishing without any hope of flight owing to the injuries they had sustained during their earlier falls.⁷⁷ After that they split up, and moved down the main thoroughfares.

The population of the city broke up into numerous groups which huddled together in stunned bewilderment and confusion, not knowing how to save themselves or how to fend off disaster. One could see people drifting about aimlessly like ships without a rudder, a pitiful sight; men, women and children throwing themselves on each other, clinging to one another and exchanging that last and most piteous parting embrace. If somewhere in their midst there was an elderly father he would throw his arms around his son's neck and set up a dreadful wailing, and would be unable to bear the separation. Instead, he would hold fast to his beloved son and feeling the pangs of natural affection before he felt the pain of the sword, would break into an improvised lament and say: 'Woe is me, my son! Amongst whom am I numbered and what things are these, which my eyes behold? Was it for this that I reared you diligently, for this that I entrusted you to the care of teachers and struggled to make it possible for you to distinguish yourself among your contemporaries? So that when I expected to be considered fortunate in having been blest with children and to be envied for the pride which I took in you, when I considered myself to be more fortunate than many other fathers because I had such an outstanding son, charming in the youthful grace of his body, more charming in the handsomeness of his face and even more so in the beauty of his soul, is it

ἰδέαν, τότε κατ' ὀφθαλμούς ἰδέσθαι τὸν ὄλεθρον τοῦτον καὶ δυστυχέστατον ἀπὸ σοῦ χωρισμόν; 9 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μέχρι τοῦδε τῇ δυστήνῳ ταύτῃ τετήρημαι πολιᾶ, ἵν' ὑπὸ βαρβάρων ἴδω κατακλιζόμενόν σου τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰ φίλτατά μοι καὶ παμπόθητα μέλη τῷ ξίφει τοῦ δημίου ἀνηλεῶς δια-
 5 σπώμενα; 10 οἶμοι, τίς γένωμαι; ποίαις ὄψεσι ταῦτα κατίδω; ποῖον ἐπὶ σοὶ ποιήσωμαι θρῆνον; 11 εἴθε τοιούτου τύχοιμεν δημίου ὃς ἐμὲ πρῶτον τῇ μαχαίρᾳ διέλοι, ἵνα μὴ καθυστερήσας δριμυτέρας τοῦ | ξίφους ἐπὶ σοὶ τὰς ἀλγηδόνας αἰσθήσωμαι. 12 ἐνὶ τούτῳ τῷ μαιφόνῳ χάριτας ὁμολογήσω, εἴ γε τῆς σφαγῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ κατάρχηται γηραιοῦ
 10 τραχήλου· εἴθ' οὕτω τῷ ἐμῷ λύθρῳ τὸ σὸν σπείσειεν αἷμα. 13 καὶ γὰρ οὕτω τὴν πολλὴν ὁδύνην ὑποτέμοι τῷ ἐγχειρήματι“.

36. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὗτος· ἄλλοθεν δὲ πάλιν ἄλλος τις τῇ συννόμῳ γυναικὶ προστυχών, βύθιον τι καὶ μέγα στενάξας, τὴν κεφαλὴν τε κινήσας καὶ τὴν μορφήν ἀλλοιώσας, προσδραμών αὐτῇ καὶ περιπλακεῖς
 15 τὴν συμφορὰν ἐτραγῶδει. 2 „σῶζου, γύναι, καὶ τοῦ συννόμου μὴ ἐπιλάθῃ. 3 ἤδη γὰρ ἡ μεγάλη στοργή, ἣν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐθέμεθα τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς φύσεως, διακόπτεται σήμερον, καὶ ξίφος καινοτομεῖ τὴν συνάφειαν, καὶ θάνατος ἄωρος τὴν συζυγίαν διίστησιν. 4 οὐκέτι τὴν ζωὴν τῇ κοινότητι τῆς βιοτῆς ἐξανύομεν. 5 οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν τοῦ λοιποῦ
 20 παιδοποιίας λόγος. 6 εἴθε μὴδὲ ταῦτα, ἃ νῦν ἡμᾶς περιέστηκε νήπια, τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς κατείδομεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, εἴθε τῇ σορῶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις χερσὶν ἀπεδόθησαν, καὶ μὴ τοῖς θηρσὶ τούτοις εἰς δυστυχῇ δουλείαν διετηρήθησαν.“ 7 εἶτα τοῖς τέκνοις ἀναμιχθέντες καὶ τὸν θρῆνον χοροστατήσαντες τὴν διαίρεσιν ἑκαρτέρου. 8 ἀδελφὸς δὲ πάλιν ἀδελφῷ
 25 συναντήσας καὶ φίλος φίλῳ, ὃ μὲν τὴν συγγένειαν ὃ δὲ τὴν μακρὰν συνήθειαν ἀπεκλαίετο. 9 καὶ ἀπλῶς τῇ ἀμετρίᾳ τῶν κατὰ μέρος θρήνων κραυγῆς ἀσήμερον πάντα πεπλήρωτο, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰς σφαγὴν | συγκλεισθέντων προβάτων καὶ συμμιγῇ φωνὴν ἀφιέντων. 10 οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς οἴκους ἀπέτρεχον, οἱ δὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀπεσκόπουν· ἄλλοι πρὸς τοὺς
 30 σεβασμίους οἴκους ἠλαύνοντο, ἄλλοι τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως καταλαβεῖν ἔσπευδον. 11 ἕτεροι δὲ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἀνιέναι ἐβούλοντο μὲν, οὐ δεδύνηντο δὲ ὑποκλαζούσης αὐτοῖς τῆς φυσικῆς ἰσχύος τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τῶν φοβερῶν· 12 οὐκ εἶχον γὰρ ὅπως διαθῶνται πρὸς τὸ κακόν, ἀλλ' ὅπουπερ ἂν ἔτυχον γεγονότες τῆς πόλεως, κατὰ πρόσωπον εὕρισκον
 35 ἀπαντῶντας τὸν θάνατον, ὥς μὴδὲν αὐτοῖς εἶναι λοιπὸν ἀσφαλὲς πρὸς ἐπίνοιαν.

just at such a moment that I must gaze upon this disaster and this most unhappy separation? And have I been kept alive till now with this unhappy head of grey hair simply in order that I may behold your body disfigured by barbarians, and the beloved limbs I long to embrace pitilessly hacked asunder by the executioner's sword? Alas, what is to become of me? With what eyes shall I look upon these happenings? What funeral dirge shall I utter on your account? Would that I might find an executioner who would first slay me with his sword, so that I should not live on to feel on your account pains sharper than the sword inflicts! On this score alone I shall acknowledge a debt of gratitude to the foul murderer, if he but begin his work of execution with my aged neck. Thus may he first sprinkle with my blood the sacrifice of your blood! By such a deed he would cut short the surfeit of my grief.'

§36. That was the form his words would take. Elsewhere some other man who happened to be standing near his wife would groan loud and deep, shake his head, change expression, run up to her, embrace her and give tragic utterance to his grief: 'Save yourself, wife, and do not forget your husband! Today is the powerful bond of mutual affection, which we forged in the intimacy of our shared existence, put asunder. The sword subverts the basis of our union. Untimely death dissolves our marriage. We can no longer share our lives until we end our days. No question henceforth of begetting children. Would that we had never set eyes on these children who now stand round us, would that our own hands had laid them in the grave and that they had not been preserved to serve as hapless slaves to these wild beasts.' Then they would mingle with their children, set up a chorus of lamentation and steel themselves against the moment of separation. Brother met brother, friend friend, the one category bewailing their kinship, the other their close association. And simply by virtue of the immense number of individual laments, the air was filled with a meaningless babel of voices, as though sheep had been penned up for slaughter and were crying out in wild confusion. Some began to run off in the direction of their homes, others kept watching the roads. Some made for the holy churches, others hurried to get to the gates of the city. Others again, wanted to climb up the wall, but were unable to do so because their bodily strength failed them at the sheer terror of the thought of what might lie in store for them. They did not know how to react to the disaster, but in whatever part of the city they happened to be, they found themselves confronted with the prospect of death, since they knew full well that there was no longer any form of safety left for them to devise.

37. Ἀλλὰ πῶς ἂν σοι τοῦ λοιποῦ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς συμφορὰν, ὦ ἀνδρῶν
 λογιώτατε, ἢ τὴν ἐπαλληλίαν τῶν τοσούτων ἀνιαρῶν διαγράψωμαι;
 2 ποῖον τούτων πρῶτον εἰπὼν τοῖς ἄλλοις δευτερεύειν παραχωρήσω;
 40 ἐπὶ τίνι τὴν γλῶτταν κινήσω ἢ τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς γραφὴν ἐξενέγκω; 3 ἐξι-
 στᾶ γάρ μου τὸν νοῦν ἢ μνήμη τῶν γεγονότων, καὶ οἶον ὄρᾶν πάλιν
 δοκῶν τῶν λεχθησομένων τὰ πράγματα δυσεπιχείρητον τὴν περὶ τούτων
 ἐξήγησιν ἐπαισθάνομαι. 4 ἢ γὰρ ἀνατύπωσις τῶν γεγονότων ὡς ἄρτι
 πραττομένων τῇ ψυχῇ διὰ τῆς μνήμης τὸν κίνδυνον εἰκονίζουσα καὶ
 45 διαμορφοῦσα τῇ φαντασίᾳ τὰ πράγματα, τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ λέγειν ἐπέχειν
 βιάζεται. 5 οἷα γὰρ ἦν τὰ τελούμενα τότε! 6 οἱ μὲν πρὸ τῆς σωμα-
 τικῆς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς πλέον δεδιότες πανολεθρίαν πρὸς τὸ θανεῖν ἐδυσφό-
 ρουν, ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐκείθεν κολάσεων τὸν χωρισμὸν ἠγοούμενοι τὸν τοῦ σώ-
 ματος· 7 οἱ δὲ τῇ γῇ προσερείδοντες τὰ γόνατα, κρουνούς τε δακρύων
 50 ἐκβλύζοντες, ἀξιους παραδεχθῆναι τῆς κλήσεως διὰ τοῦ τοιούτου θανάτου
 τὸν θεὸν ἐλιτάνευον. 8 ἄλλοι τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων τομώτερον
 τοῦ ξίφους τὸ συνειδὸς νυττόμενοι τὸν ἀναλωθέντα χρόνον ἐπὶ ματαίῳ
 ἀνεκαλοῦντο μεταμελούμενοι. 9 ἕτεροι μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐνεργῆσαι δυνά-
 μενοι, ἀλλὰ τὸν λογισμὸν προδόντες τῇ ἀγωνίᾳ, ἴσταντο τρομώδεις,
 55 δίκην ἀψύχων δένδρων τὴν τομὴν ἀναμένοντες. 10 ἄλλοι δὲ καθάπερ
 οἷστρω τῷ φόβῳ πληττόμενοι ἀκάθεκτοι ταῖς ὁρμαῖς ἦσαν· ἐξ ὧν καὶ
 πλεῖστοι πρὸς τὸ ἐκτὸς τοῦ τείχους ἀσυλλογίστως ἑαυτοὺς ἀκοντίσαντες
 ἢ τῷ πτώματι τὴν ζωὴν συνεπέραναν ἢ τοῖς ἐκείσε στρεφομένοις βαρβά-
 ροις ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν.

60 38. Τί δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν εἴπω πρῶτον, οἷς καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἀέρα
 συνθρηνεῖν αὐταῖς ἐβιάζοντο; 2 ἦτουν τὰς ἀνακλήσεις, τὰς οἰμωγὰς,
 τῶν τέκνων τὰς περιπλοκάς, 3 οὐδ' εὐσχημονεῖν ἔτι βουλόμεναι νικη-
 θεῖσαι τῷ πάθει, οὐδὲ τῆς ὀψεως τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἑαυτὰς ὑπεκκλίνειν,
 ἀλλ' ἀναιδῶς φερόμεναι, τὰς κόμας ἔχουσαι λελυμένας καὶ τῶν πρὸς
 65 συστολὴν ἀμελήσασαι, ἦγοντο συνεκβοῶσαι τοὺς θρήνους καὶ τοῦ
 κινδύνου καταστενάζουσαι. 4 εἴ που καὶ παρθένος ἐν αὐταῖς, ἡ μήπω
 τῆς οἰκουρίας προβᾶσα ἀλλ' ἀσφαλῶς τηρουμένη τῷ γάμῳ καὶ σεμνότητα
 πᾶσαν δεδιδασμένη, τὴν αἰδῶ τῆς ὀψεως περιάρασα, καὶ μὴδ' ὅτι γυνὴ
 70 γυναιξὶ κοινωνοῦσα τοῦ θρήνου καὶ δεινὸν ἀλαλάζουσα. 5 μονασταὶ
 δὲ καὶ μονάζουσαι, ὅσοι τὴν προσπάθειαν τοῦ βίου κοιμῶντες ὑπάρχον-
 τες τῷ φίλτρῳ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπεσείσαντο, ἑαυτοῖς μόνοις καὶ θεῷ ζῶντες,
 τῶν ἀσκητηρίων ἐκβάντες καὶ ταῖς πλατείαις διασπαρέντες τῆς πόλεως
 τὸν κοινὸν ὄλεθρον γοερὸν ἐκλαυθμύριζον. 6 ἐξ οὗ δὴ μοι καὶ θάμβος

§37. But how from this point on shall I describe to you, o most cultured of men, our misfortune or outline the sequence of so many painful events? Which shall I select for first mention, thereby relegating the rest to second place? To what shall I direct my tongue or apply my hand to the task of writing? The recollection of events drives me to distraction. I seem to see actually happening all over again the things that I am about to relate and am, in consequence, not insensible to the difficulty of embarking on such a narrative. For the representation of events as if they were actually occurring portrays danger to the mind's eye through the immediacy of recollection, and reshaping reality by means of the imagination, forcibly arrests the flow of one's narrative. And what things they were, the things that came to pass on that occasion! Some, who were more afraid of the destruction of the soul than of that of the body, found it hard to bear the prospect of death, since they viewed separation from the body as the beginning of punishments in the hereafter. Others knelt on the ground, shed floods of tears and begged God to accept them as worthy of the call⁷⁸ on account of the manner of their death. Others, remembering their sins, felt the pangs of conscience more keenly than the blade of a sword and repented as they recalled the time that had been wasted on idle pursuits. Yet others, incapable of such decisive action and surrendering the power of reason to the force of anguish, stood quaking, and like lifeless trees, waited for the blow to fall. Others again, as though goaded by the gadfly of fear were unable to restrain their frenzy. Most of these threw themselves off the wall without stopping to think. They either died from the fall or delivered themselves into the hands of the barbarians who were prowling about in that area.

§38. What shall I say first about the women, who forced the very air to join them in their lamentation? They insisted on crying out, on wailing, on embracing their children. Overwhelmed by grief, they no longer cared to observe the proprieties or to withdraw themselves from the sight of the men. On the contrary, they were completely unabashed. With their hair let down and with scant regard for modesty they performed dirges, crying out in unison, and groaned at the calamity. Wherever there was in their midst a maiden who had not yet left the protection of her home and was safely preserved for marriage and properly schooled in decorum, she would put aside all shyness at being seen, and in her fear not even considering that she was a woman, she would walk about in the middle of the marketplace, join the other women in their lamentation and shriek at the top of her voice. Monks and nuns, who at a very early age had for love of virtue renounced all worldly attachments, living only for themselves and for God, came out of their cells, scattered about the streets of the city and sorrowfully bewailed

- 75 ἐπέρχεται, ὅταν κατὰ νοῦν λάβω τὴν ποικίλην καὶ διάφορον ἀρετὴν τῶν
 Ναζιραίων ἐκείνων, ἣν καταμόνας ἐφιλοπόνουν, ἥτοι τὴν πάννυχον
 ψαλμωδίαν καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν παρθενίαν τὴν τε ἐκτενῆ προσευχὴν καὶ τὸ
 ἀκατάπαυστον δάκρυον· 7 πῶς οὐκ ἔκαμψαν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸν θεῖκον
 ἔλεον, πῶς οὐ κατεγγυήσαντο τὴν πόλιν, πῶς οὐχ εὗρον ἑπαθλον ἀρετῆς
 80 τὴν ἀποφυγὴν τοῦ κινδύνου, συνελήφθησαν δὲ μᾶλλον καθάπερ ἀνεπί-
 σκοπα πρόβατα, πάντες τῆς μαχαίρας γεγονότες καὶ τῷ κλήρῳ τῶν
 ἀμαρτωλῶν τῆς σφαγῆς κοινωνήσαντες. 8 πλὴν ἡγοῦμαι ὅτι τούτων
 μὲν ὁ θάνατος, ὡς φησιν ὁ ψαλμός, τίμιος γέγονεν ἐναντίον κυρίου, κὰν
 τούτῳ τοῦ σοφοῦ τοὺς οἰκείους δούλους τιμήσαντος, ἵνα μετὰ τῆς λοι-
 85 πῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τὸ τέλος μαρτυρικὸν ἀπενέγκωνται, ὡς ἂν ἐπιδασκεύωσι
 ταῖς τούτοις τὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς γέρα καὶ τῶν ἀρρήτων ἐκείνων ἀγαθῶν τὴν
 ἀντίδοσιν· 9 ἡμῶν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν παραπτώσεων οὐ μόνον τὰς
 τούτων ἐντεύξεις ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τῶν μαρτύρων πρεσβείας ἀσυντελεῖς
 δειχθῆναι πεποίηκεν, ἵν' ἡμῶν παθόντων ὅπερ ἤδη | πεπόνθαμεν, ἔχωσι
 90 γινῶναι πάντες οἱ τῶν θείων καταφρονηταὶ διατάξεων ὡς κακίᾳ πλεονε-
 κτοῦντας οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς τῆς δεσποτικῆς ἀπειλῆς τῶν σωτηρίων βοηθημά-
 των ἐξαιρήσασθαι δυναθῇσεται.

39. Ὡς γὰρ κατὰ πᾶσαν εἰσελθόντες διεμερίσθησαν τὴν πόλιν οἱ
 βάρβαροι, εὐθὺς πᾶσα ἡλικία καὶ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων ὑπ' αὐτῶν
 95 ἀνήρητο. 2 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν οἶκος αὐτοῖς οὐδεὶς πάλαι προμεμηνόςι καὶ
 τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν διψῶσιν ἀπώλειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γέρων καὶ ἀκμάζων ἔτι καὶ
 νεανίσκος καὶ πᾶς ὁ προστυχὼν ἔργον τοῖς μαιφόνοις ἦν, οὐδὲ καιρίας
 κατ' αὐτῶν ἀφιεῖσι πληγὰς· 3 ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐνδιατρίβειν ποιῶσι
 τοῖς ἀλγεινοῖς, τὰ πρὸς τὸν νῶτον μέρη καὶ τοὺς μηροὺς κατατέμνοντες
 5 σχολάζειν αὐτοὺς τῇ τελειώσει παρεβιάζοντο. 4 καὶ οὐδ' οὕτως ὁ
 πολιορκῶν αὐτοὺς ἐνεπίμπλατο θυμός, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ πολλάκις δύνανται
 θνήσκειν μανικῶς ἐδυσφόρουν. 5 ἵνα γὰρ τὴν θηριώδη καὶ ἀδάμαστον
 ἐκείνην ὄρεξιν ἐμφορήσωσιν, οὐδὲ γυναικῶν ἐφείσαντο κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ
 κινδύνου, οὐδὲ παίδων αὐτῶν, ὧν τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας ἄωρον ἄγειν βιάζεται
 10 πολλάκις καὶ θηρῶν ὀφθαλμοὺς εἰς συμπάθειαν· 6 ἀλλ' ἦν ἐπ' ἴσης
 ἅπασιν ἡ τομή, καθάπερ ἐν χλοηφόρῳ πεδίῳ πᾶν τὸ παρατυχὸν ἐκθερί-
 ζουσα, ὡς ἐν βραχείᾳ καιροῦ ῥοπῇ ἄοικον ἀποδειχθῆναι τὴν πόλιν τὴν
 πρὸ μικροῦ στενοχωρουμένην καὶ τοῖς πλήθεσι βρίθουσαν. 7 καθὼ γὰρ

the general calamity. When I consider the many virtuous acts of those Nazirites⁷⁹ which, each on his own account, they zealously pursued - their all-night singing of the psalms, their consecrated virginity, their constant prayers and their incessant tears - I am filled with amazement at how they failed to incline God's mercy towards us, how they failed to become pledges for the city's safety, how they failed to find their virtue rewarded with escape from danger. Instead, they were seized like sheep without a shepherd, each one of them fell victim to the sword and all were led to the slaughter to share the common lot of sinners.

Yet, I think that, as the psalmist says, 'Their death was precious in the sight of the Lord,'⁸⁰ since in this regard too His wisdom honoured His servants in order that they might crown a life of virtue with a martyr's death, that He might freely bestow on them the rewards of patient endurance and that recompense consisting of good things beyond all description. But the multitude of our transgressions rendered ineffective not only their petitions but even the intercession of martyrs and so we suffered what we did in order that those who scorn God's commandments might learn that no saving power shall be able to rescue them in their excessive depravity from the threat of the Lord's wrath.

§39. As soon as the barbarians had penetrated the city, spreading themselves throughout it in all directions, there was wholesale and indiscriminate slaughter in which neither age nor sex was spared. They showed no mercy, having long ago worked themselves up into a state of fury and insensate rage in which they thirsted for our destruction. The aged, those who were still in their prime, the young, the chance passer-by, all alike fell victim to their lust for blood. Nor did they dispatch them decently with mortal blows, but in order to prolong their agony they cut off their arms and legs and forced them to endure a lingering death. But even that was not enough to satisfy the fury which possessed them and they raged like maniacs at their inability to inflict death more than once. And in order to sate their bestial and uncontrollable appetite they did not at the outset of the disaster spare either women or even children, whose tender age often moves to pity the very stare of savage beasts. The blade fell equally on all, like a sickle on a grassy plain mowing down all that comes into its path, so that in one short moment what had been a crowded and populous city was reduced to a wilderness. As we pointed out previously,⁸¹ some of the population

φθάσαντες εἶπομεν, τὸ μὲν τοῦ δήμου τὰς ἀκρωρείας κατειλήφει κατὰ τὴν
 15 καλουμένην ἀκρόπολιν συνελαθέν, ἢ τὴν περιοικίδα τοῦ ὀσίου Δαβίδ
 ὀνομαζομένην (ταῦτα γὰρ μᾶλλον τῆς | λοιπῆς ὑπερανέχουσι πόλεως,
 ἔνθα δὴ καὶ πληθὸς ἦν μοναχῶν ἐναρέτων πάντων καὶ τῆς οὐρανοῦ πολι-
 τείας ἡξιωμένων), τὸ δὲ πάλιν ταῖς δυσὶ πύλαις προσερρύη ταῖς πρὸς
 20 δύσιν ἀφορώσαις τῆς πόλεως, μίαν ἔχόντων πάντων σπουδὴν, τοῦ
 ξίφους διεκφυγεῖν τὴν τομὴν. 8 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν πλέον τῶν ἄλλων διή-
 νυον, τῶν πυλῶν ἐκτὸς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐφεδρευόντων, καὶ μηδ' ἄλλως
 ἔχοντες εὐχερῶς ὑπερβῆναι, τῷ συνωθισμῷ πιέζοντες ἀλλήλους καὶ τὴν
 διέξοδον ἀποφράττοντες.

40. Οἶον γὰρ ἐγεγόνει κακὸν κατὰ τὴν καλουμένην Χρυσέαν πύλην!
 25 2 πῶς παρανοίξαι ταύτην βουλευθέντες μικρόν, ὅσοι τοῦ δήμου τῷ
 τόπῳ συνέρρευσαν, διήμαρτον τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως! 3 μόνον γὰρ ὅτι
 τὰς πύλας ἀλλήλων διέστησαν, καὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ πιλήματι πάλιν ἐν ἑαυταῖς
 συνδραμεῖν αὐτὰς κατηνάγκασαν· 4 οὕτω δὲ ἔχοντας αὐτοὺς καταλα-
 βόντες οἱ δυσμενεῖς οὐκέτι καθ' ἓνα τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἀνήρουν, ἀλλ' ὡς εἶδον
 30 συνεσφιγμένους ἀλλήλων τε ἔχομένους καὶ ἐκτραπῆναι μὴ δυναμένους,
 κατὰ κόρρης αὐτοὺς τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἔπαιον, ὡς μετὰ τὴν πληγὴν διαι-
 ρεῖσθαι τοῦ προστυχόντος τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις τῇδε κάκεισε
 τὰ μέρη συμπίπτειν, καὶ μηδὲ μετὰ θάνατον τῇ γῇ δίδοσθαι ἀλλ' ἔτι
 παρακρατεῖσθαι τοῖς λοιποῖς σώμασιν, ἕως πάντων ἀναιρεθέντων (κατ-
 35 ηνέχθη τὰ πάντων πτώματα [τοῦ]), καὶ ὥσπερ τοῦ ὑποστηρίζοντος
 (τῆς ἀπάντων λέγω ζωῆς διαδράσης) [κατηνέχθη τὰ πάντων πτώματα
 τοῦ] αἵματος ἀλλήλων καθάπερ καὶ τῆς τελευτῆς κοινωνήσαντα. |

41. Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τὴν ἄλλην πύλην, ἣν καλοῦσι Λιταίαν,
 πραχθῆναι συνέβη. 2 καθὼς γὰρ ἔφαμεν, τῶν ἄλλων τὰς μὲν πρὸς
 40 θάλασσαν ἐξαγούσας αὐτοὶ προκατεῖχον οἱ βάρβαροι, τὰς δὲ γε πρὸς
 ἀνατολὴν ἀφορώσας ἡμεῖς προαποκλείσαντες ἦμεν, τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς μη-
 χανὴν, ἣν κατὰ τῶν ἔξω τοῦ προτειχίσματος πυλῶν προπεπόνθαμεν,
 καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ὑφορώμενοι, ὡς λοιπὸν ἐκ τούτων πανταχόθεν ἀποροῦντα
 τὸν δῆμον πρὸς τὴν φυγὴν περὶ τὰς ἀγυῖας μόνον εἰλεῖσθαι καὶ παντα-
 45 χοῦ τῷ θανάτῳ προσπίπτειν. 3 σχεδὸν γὰρ ὀλίγοι, καὶ λίαν ὡς
 εἶκος εὐαρίθμητοι, κατὰ τὸ δυτικὸν μέρος τοῦ λιμένος ἑαυτοὺς τῶν

had swarmed on to the high ground around the so-called Acropolis,⁸² or the district called Tou Hosiou David⁸³ (these places are situated at a greater elevation than the rest of the city and large numbers of monks dwell there, all of them perfect practitioners of virtue and considered worthy of their heavenly calling), whilst others had flocked to the two gates of the city that faced west. A single leading thought possessed them all: how to escape being cut to pieces by the sword. But they were no more successful than the rest, since the barbarians were lying in wait outside the gates; besides which they had a far from easy passage owing to the fact that they were jostling and crushing one another and blocking off their own escape.

§40. What a dreadful calamity occurred at the so-called Golden Gate!⁸⁴ How badly those people who had flocked to the spot and who wished to open it a little failed in their attempt! Scarcely had they managed to ease the wings of the gate apart when they forced them to slam shut again through the sheer weight of their own congested numbers. Finding them in this condition, the enemy no longer slew them one at a time with their swords but when they saw them crowded and clinging together and unable to get out of the way they came down with their swords on their heads. Each blow resulted in the severing of someone's head and mutilated bodies jostled with their fellows and even after death were not allowed to fall to the ground but were held up in the general throng of bodies, until all were slain, the life ebbed from them, and their corpses tumbled down, having shared the mutual prop of lifeblood and a common end.

§41. Exactly the same thing happened at the other gate, known as the Litaia Gate.⁸⁵ Of the other gates, as we pointed out, those leading to the sea⁸⁶ had been occupied in advance by the barbarians, whereas we ourselves had previously blocked up those facing east,⁸⁷ fearing in their case also the enemy's stratagem of setting fire to them, something which we had already experienced to our cost with the outer gates of the fortification. Consequently, people sensed helplessly that their escape was barred from all sides and floundered hopelessly about the streets, encountering death at every turn. Only a few, a mere handful, threw themselves from the walls at the western end of the harbour and leaped to safety. Certain others had

τειχῶν ἀκοντίσαντες τὸν κίνδυνον ὑπεξέφυγον· 4 καὶ τινες ἄλλοι τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πύλης λάθρα ὑπεκδραμόντες πρὸ τοῦ τὴν συμφορὰν ὑφεστάναι διεσώσαντο τὴν ζωὴν. 5 οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ τῶν Σκλαβή-
 50 νων ἡγούμενοι, πάλαι προμελετήσαντες τοῦτο καὶ τὰς κλεῖδας τῶν πυλῶν ἐκείνων κακούργως προὔφελόμενοι. 6 οὓς καὶ ἐχρῆν, τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ κακοῦ θεασαμένους, παντὶ τῷ προστυχόντι παραχωρῆσαι τὴν ἔξοδον· 7 οὕτω γὰρ πολλοὶ τῶν αὐτόθι λαχόντων, πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπελθεῖν, τὸν θάνατον ὑπεξέκλιναν ἄν. 8 οἱ δὲ τοιοῦτον
 55 μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ εἰς νοῦν λαβεῖν ἠνέσχοντο· 9 αἰεὶ δὲ τὸ οἰκεῖον προορώμενοι, καὶ ὅπως τὸν κίνδυνον διακρούσονται κὰν τούτῳ διασκεψάμενοι, τὰς πύλας μικρὸν παρανοιζάντες καὶ τὴν ἐπεκδρομὴν τομῶς ποιησάμενοι, ἕνα τινὰ τῷ τόπῳ καταλιπόντες πρὸς τὸ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἔξοδον καὶ αὐθις ταύτας συγκλείσαι· 10 οὕτω τῆς πάντων | ἐπεβου-
 60 λεύσαντο σωτηρίας καὶ τότε, πρόφασιν τινα δολίαν πλάσασάμενοι, ὡς οὐ πρὸς φυγὴν ἐκτρέπονται, πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν δὲ μᾶλλον τῶν Στρυμο-νιτῶν συμμάχων, τοῦ στρατηγοῦ δῆθεν τοῦτο προστάξαντος.

42. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ ξιφήρεις οἱ βάρβαροι ταῖς πύλαις ἐπέστησαν, καὶ οὐκέτι δυνατὸν ἦν οὐδὲ προσβλέψαι μόνον ἐκτὸς ἀκινδύ-
 65 νως τινά, μὴ τί γε τὸν κίνδυνον ὑπαλύξαι. 2 κἀγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς (δύο δὲ μοί εἰσιν οὗτοι νεώτεροι, τῆς ἐμῆς ἡλικίας ὑποβεβηκότες, οἱ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τῆς τε φρουρᾶς καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀλγεινῶν μοι συγκοινωνοῦντες) κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὥραν παρόντες εὗρέθημεν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ μετὰ καὶ τινων ἄλλων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ
 70 ὀλίγων. 3 καὶ ὡς ἤδη τὴν πονηρὰν ἐκείνην ὑπέστημεν ἐπιβουλήν (μετὰ γὰρ τὸ πραχθῆναι τὴν σκῆψιν τὸ συμβὰν ἐπεγνώκειμεν), ὀπισθόρμητοι πάντες, ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ὡς εἶχε τάχους, πρὸς τὴν πόλιν συνηλαυνόμεθα, ἄλλος ἄλλαχῇ διαιρεθέντες, καθὼς ἂν ἦγεν ἡ συμφορά, τοῦ φόβου διατιθεῖσα τὰ σχήματα. 4 ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ τε πατρὶ καὶ ἡμῖν,
 75 μήπω πεφθακότων πρὸς ἡμᾶς τῶν βαρβάρων, εἰς τινα πύργον τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἐνδότερον τεῖχος ἀνιέναι τέως καὶ μὴ τῷ πλήθει συναναμίγνυσθαι, ὡς ἂν τῶν πολεμίων τυχὸν ἐπιστάντων, τῶν ἄλλων διαιρεθέντες καὶ μόνοι τούτοις κατὰ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἐντυγχάνοντες, δυνηθῶμέν τινα πρεσβεῖαν τούτοις προσαγαγεῖν καὶ τὴν ζωὴν ἑαυτοῖς | διασώσασθαι.
 80 5 ὃ δὲ καὶ γέγονε τῇ θεϊκῇ προνοίᾳ. 6 τὸ δ' ὅπως καὶ μεθ' οἷας παραδοξοποιοῦ δυνάμεως, λέξων ἔρχομαι.

43. Ἀνήλθομεν ἐν τῷ τείχει σπουδῇ θεόντες κατὰ τινα πρόβολου ἀντικρὺ τοῦ ἐκέισε σεβασμίου σηκοῦ τοῦ πρωτοκλήτου τῶν ἀποστό-

saved their lives by surreptitiously slipping away through the gate near the Acropolis⁸⁸ before disaster struck. These men were the leaders of the Sklavenes,⁸⁹ who had long been rehearsing this move, having previously gone so far as to steal the keys to the gates in question. But they should, in view of the critical nature of the situation, have allowed everyone who happened to be around at the time to avail himself of the opportunity to escape.⁹⁰ Had they done so, many of those who happened to be in the area before the barbarians attacked would have avoided death. But they had no time for such a notion. They were far too busy looking after their own welfare, and in a move aimed exclusively at warding off danger from themselves, they pushed the wings of the gate ajar and made a speedy exit, leaving one of their number on the spot to shut the gate behind them. In this way they treacherously undermined the safety of everybody on that occasion too,⁹¹ under the specious and lying pretext that they were not fleeing but were going to collect allies from the Strymon area, pretending that this was at the express command of the strategos.⁹²

§42. Not much time had elapsed before the barbarians were at the gates, sword in hand, and it was no longer possible for anyone to so much as cast a glance outside without being endangered, let alone make good his escape. Along with my father and my brothers (I have two younger brothers who up to now have been my companions in captivity and distress) I myself also happened to be in that place at that time, as were a not inconsiderable number of other people from the city. And after becoming the victims of that wicked piece of deception (for once the pretence was carried out we realized what had happened) we all rushed back as fast as our legs would carry us helter-skelter in the direction of the city. And we split up into different groups, one going by one route, one by another, whichever way misfortune beckoned or fear dictated. My father then decided, and so did we, that since the barbarians had not yet reached us, we should go up for the time being on to one of the towers surmounting the inner wall and not mingle with the crowd. The idea was that, when the enemy arrived, we might, through detaching ourselves from the rest and encountering them alone on the battlements, be in a position to negotiate with them and save our lives. And that was what, through the agency of Divine Providence, actually came about. And how it came about and with what manifestation of miraculous power I shall proceed to say.

§43. We climbed up the wall and ran with alacrity on to a rampart directly opposite the revered shrine of Andrew the 'first called'⁹³ of the

λων Ἀνδρέου. 2 πέντε δὲ ἤμεν οἱ πάντες ὁμοῦ, ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐμὸς καὶ γὰρ
85 σὺν τοῖς ῥηθείσι δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς καὶ τις ἕτερος μετέχων καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς
ἡμῶν ἀγχιστείας, κληρικοὶ πάντες καὶ τῷ τῶν ἀναγνωστῶν διαπρέ-
ποντες τάγματι. 3 μικρὸν οὖν αὐτόθι καθησυχάσαντες καὶ καθ' ἑαυ-
τοὺς λογιζόμενοι τὸ ἐφ'esτὸς τῆς μαχαίρας τέλος ἡρχόμεθα τῶν γόων,
ἐκαστος τῆς τε οἰκείας ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀλλήλων καταστενάζοντες
90 διαιρέσεως. 4 καὶ πρῶτος ἐξῆρχε θρηνῶν ὁ πατήρ, ἥδη προβεβηκώς
ὢν καὶ πολλὴν περὶ τὸ λέγειν ἐπιστήμην ἐξησκημένος, 5 „φεῦ μοι“
λέγων, “ὦ τέκνα πολυπαθῆ, ἐν τίσι νῦν περιελήφθη, καὶ τίνι ταῦτα
ἀπέκειτο τῇ δυστήνῳ μου ταύτῃ καὶ ταλαιπώρῳ ζωῇ, ἴν' οὓς κατὰ
διαφόρους ἀπέτεκεν χρόνους καὶ τῇ γενέσει παρέθηκα, ὅφ' ἐν ἴδῳ τὴν
95 τελευτὴν ὑπερχομένους, καὶ μὴδ' ὅπερ τοῖς ἀτυχούσιν ἐστὶ συγκεχωρη-
μένον, σχολὴν ἄγων ἀξίως τοῦ πάθους ὁδύρασθαι. 6 συνεκάλεσα γὰρ
ἂν πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τοῦτο καὶ ἀπαρηγόρητον πένθος καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἄψυχα
τῶν κτισμάτων κοινωνῆσαι μοι τοῦ πάθους καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν συμμε-
ρίσασθαι. 7 οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ πάντες τῶν ὁμοπατρ'δων ἄλλως | ἄγουσιν
5 ἢ ἐγώ, ἐκαστὸς τινα τῶν οἰκείων ἀπεκδεχόμενος καὶ τῆς ἑτέρου συμπα-
θείας ἐπιδεόμενος. 8 ἐμοὶ γὰρ δύο δεινὰ συνέβη κατὰ ταῦτό, ὃ τε
ψυχικὸς κίνδυνος ἐν ἀμαρτίαις τὴν ζωὴν δαπανήσαντι, καὶ ὃ ἐξ ὑμῶν
οὗτος ἀπροσδόκητος χωρισμός, ὃν οὕτως οὐποτε προσεδόκησα, 9
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ δι' ἐντεύξεως εἶχον ὅφ' ὑμῶν καλυφθῆναι τὰ βαρυπενθῆ ὅμματα
10 ταῦτα, ἴν' ἐπαναπαυσάμενος ταῖς ὑμετέραις χερσὶ τῷ τάφῳ τῶν πατέ-
ρων δοθῶ, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ καταλίπω τῆς τε μητρὸς γηροκόμους
καὶ τοῖς ἔτι κομιδῇ νέοις καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ καθυστερίζουσι δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς
ὑμῶν τὰς περὶ τὸ ζῆν ἀφορμὰς προνοήσαντας. 10 νυνὶ δὲ πᾶσα μὲν
τοιαύτη διόλωλεν ἐλπίς, ἐν μέσοις δὲ τοῖς δεινοῖς ἀπειλημένος ἄωρον
15 ἐκδέχομαι τὴν καθ' ὑμῶν τελευτήν. 11 καὶ οὕτω με τετήρηκε τῶν
ἀνομιῶν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ εἰς ταύτην τεταμίευκε τὴν ἡμέραν, ἵνα κατ'
ὀφθαλμοὺς ἴδῳ τὰ φίλτατά μοι τῶν τέκνων βαρβαρικῶν ξιφῶν παρανά-
λωμα καὶ τὰ παμπόθητα μέλη ταῖς χερσὶ τῶν δημίων ἀνηλεῶς διασπώ-
μενα, ὧς τῆς ὁδύνης, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀσφαλὲς ἔχων, ὅτι τὸν δύστηνον ἐμὲ
20 πρῶτον ὁ μαιφόνος τῆς ζωῆς ἀπαλλάξει. 12 ἦν γὰρ ὡς ἐν συγκρίσει
κακῶν τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ φορητόν. 13 ὑποπτον δὲ μοι τὸ νεάζον κατέστηκε
τῆς καθ' ὑμᾶς ἡλικίας, καὶ τῶν προσώπων τὸ ἀνθηρὸν μαντεύεσθαι με
ποιεῖ, πρῶτον τῆς ἀφ' ὑμῶν τομῆς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐμφορηθέντας, ἐν ὑστέρῳ
με πολλοὺς ὑπομεμενηκότα θανάτους καὶ καθ' ἓνα ὑμῶν ἀθλήσαντα,
25 οὕτω τοῖς ὑμετέροις αἵμασι | συμφυραθῆναι.

Apostles. There were five of us in all: my father and I together with the two brothers already mentioned and another person also related to us, all five clerics and holding the position of Lector. We rested there a while, and as we reflected on the imminent prospect of death by the sword, we began to weep, each one bemoaning both his individual fate and our mutual separation. The first to give voice to lamentation was my father, a man already advanced in years and much practised in the art of eloquence. 'Woe is me, o children of much tribulation!' he exclaimed. 'What horrors am I now caught up in and what savage twist has been reserved for this wretched and unhappy life of mine that I should see struck down at one fell swoop those whom on different occasions I brought into the world and provided for and do so without even the solace normally conceded to misfortune, a decent interval in which to express one's grief? Otherwise, I should have called even on inanimate nature to share the common burden of this inconsolable grief and made her my companion in distress. Not that any of my fellow citizens are faring any differently from myself: each one attends anxiously the fate of a relative, all are in need of a shoulder to cry on. Nevertheless, two catastrophes have simultaneously befallen me: the spiritual peril which confronts me as the result of a life wasted on sinful pursuits and this unexpected separation from you, which I could never have envisaged. Indeed, it was my constant prayer that you should close these careworn eyes of mine, that resting on your arms I should be consigned to the grave of my fathers and that I might safely leave you to look after your mother in her old age and to provide for the maintainance of your two young brothers, both of them still small children. But now all such hopes have been dashed, and unshielded from disaster I await your untimely deaths. And so the abundance of my transgressions has preserved me and reserved me for such a day, in order that I might live to see the dearest of my children become a casual object of destruction for barbarian swords, and the beloved limbs I long to embrace pitilessly wrenched asunder by the hands of their executioners, oh the anguish of it! Nor do I even have the assurance that the foul murderer will first rid wretched me of my life: on a comparative scale of misfortune my own might thus be bearable. But your young lives fill me with foreboding and the youthful bloom on your cheeks causes me to predict that the enemy will first glut his blade on you and that my slaughter will be mingled with your blood when and only when I have suffered the multiple ordeal of your individual deaths.

44. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔλαθον ἑμαυτόν, ὥ φίλτατα τέκνα, πόρρω τοῦ δέον-
 τος πλανηθεῖς καὶ ἅπερ οὐκ ἔδει τοῖς θρήνοις συνεξιπών. 2 νενίκημαι
 γὰρ τῷ κακῷ, καὶ ἡ πάνδημος συμφορὰ καταστενάξαι τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ
 τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἄκοντά με παρεβιάσατο. 3 τίς γὰρ ἂν καὶ λιθίνην
 30 ἔχων καρδίαν, τῷδε τῷ πάθει συνεπαρθεῖς, ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν
 τοσούτῳ κακῷ συσχεθέντας μὴ ἀποδύρηται; 4 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἔστιν ὃ
 βούλεται καὶ πράττει θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις μὴ πρὸς τι χρήσιμον τέλος
 οἰκονομούμενον. 5 τάχα γὰρ ἀπέκειτο διὰ τὴν μοχθηρίαν ἡμῶν τὸ
 οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν· καὶ ἰδοὺ κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ἡ τῆς ζωῆς ἐφέστηκεν ἔκτισις,
 35 βριαίως τοῖς ξίφεσι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἐκτινύουσα. 6 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν
 ἄδικος ὁ συγχωρήσας ταῦτα παθεῖν καὶ τόνδε καθυπενέγκαι βίαιον
 τοῦ σώματος χωρισμὸν καὶ τὰς εὐθύνas τῶν ἡμαρτημένων κατὰ τὴν
 μέλλουσαν ἡμᾶς εἰσπραχθήσεσθαι δίκην. 7 διὸ στήτε γενναίως, τὴν
 ἐλπίδα πᾶσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν μόνον ἀπαιωρήσαντες τὸν δυνάμενον ἀφιέναι
 40 ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἁμαρτίας. 8 καὶ κἄν τι δέοι παθεῖν ἀλγυνῶν χάριν τῆς
 εἰς αὐτὸν πίστεως, ἐνέγκωμεν μύσαντες καὶ μηδὲν φοβηθῶμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ
 σωματικοῦ τούτου θανάτου, ὃν εἰ καὶ μὴ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ πάντως ἐτέρως
 καθυπομείναι χρεῶν ἔστι καὶ τῇ γενέσει τὸ ὀφειλόμενον λειτουργῆσαι.
 9 γενέσθω οὖν ἡ τῆς ζωῆς στέρησις εὐχαριστίας ἡμῖν ἀφορμή, ἵνα μὴ
 45 θάνωμεν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς ἐκεῖθεν μακαριότητος.“ 10 ταῦ-
 τα λέγων ἕκαστον | ἡμῶν πρὸς τὸν διὰ ξίφους θάνατον ἐπαιδοτρίβει
 καὶ προθυμίαν παρεῖχε μὴ ἀπευδοκεῖν τὴν τελείωσιν.

45. Ἐν ὧσ' δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς ἡμᾶς διελέγετο καὶ συμπεσόντες ἀλλή-
 λοις τὰ τελευταῖα συνεταπτόμεθα, ἰδοὺ δὴ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων κατε-
 50 φάνησάν τινες ἀνιόντες, τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὐκ ὀλίγοι, Αἰθίοπες τὴν χροιάν,
 τὰ σώματα γεγυμνωμένοι, ἐσπασμένas ἔχοντες τὰς μαχαίρας, δεινὸν
 ἐξαλλόμενοι καὶ τῇ παραθήξει τῶν ὀδόντων συνῶν δίκην τὸ μανικὸν
 ἐνδεικνύμενοι. 2 ἐφεστῶτες οὖν τῷ τόπῳ πρῶτον τοὺς μεθ' ἡμῶν
 ὑποστρέψαντας ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν πυλῶν κακούργου συγκλείσεως, αὐτοῦ
 55 που παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος εἰλουμένους, τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἐκείνοις διεχειρίσαντο·
 3 οἷς οὐδὲν ἦν πρὸ τούτου πλέον μελετηθὲν ἢ μόνον τῇ δεξιᾷ τοῦ δημίου
 τὸν αὐχένα ὑπέχειν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τομὴν σχηματίζεσθαι. 4 καὶ ἦν
 ἰδεῖν τὸ πραττόμενον ἐκπλήξεως γέμον. 5 εἰ γὰρ τῷ εὐπειθεῖ τοῦ
 ἑαυτὸν προδόντος καὶ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ὑποκλίνοντος ὁ φονεὺς κατε-
 60 νύγη, καιρίαν ἄγων θάπτον αὐτὸν τῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἀπήλλαττεν· 6 εἰ

§44. But, dear children, I have, without realizing it, strayed far from what I ought to have said and in giving vent to my grief have allowed myself to say what I ought not have said. I have been defeated by misfortune, and the general calamity has forced me against my will to cry out against the current situation. For who, even if he had a heart of stone, would not be carried away by his present suffering into bewailing his own involvement and that of his family in so overwhelming a catastrophe? But there is nothing that God wills and brings to pass among men which is not designed to serve some useful purpose. Perhaps it is on account of our wickedness that such a death has been reserved for us. Behold, retribution for the way we lived stands visibly before us, demanding that our lives be forfeit to the violence of the sword! But He who has permitted that we should suffer these things and endure this violent separation from the body and that we shall be made to pay in the judgement to come the full reckoning for our sins, He is not unjust. Therefore, stand your ground courageously and place all your hopes on Him alone who has the power to forgive sins on earth.⁹⁴ And should we have to suffer some painful ordeal for the sake of our faith in Him, let us bear it without flinching and not be afraid of this bodily death, which if not in this way then at all events in some other way one must endure and pay one's debt to human nature. Let being deprived of our lives, therefore, be in our eyes a cause for gratitude, so that we may not simply die but may do so on the grounds of our hope in the bliss of the life to come.' With these words he sought to train us to endure death by the sword and inspired us to hope for martyrdom.⁹⁵

§45. While he was speaking to us in this way, and we were embracing one another and saying our last farewells, some barbarians, a considerable number in fact, suddenly appeared on the scene. They had the complexions of Ethiopians, their bodies were naked and their swords drawn. They leaped about in a terrifying fashion and displayed their fury by baring their teeth like wild boars. Once on the spot they pounced on those who had turned back with us after the criminal incident involving the locking of the gates,⁹⁶ and who now stood there huddled up along the wall, only to be dispatched by their swords. Their one contribution to the action was to hold out their necks to the hand of the executioner and to assume a suitable position for decapitation. The whole business constituted an utterly horrendous spectacle. If the murderer felt some compunction at the obedient manner in which the victim surrendered himself and bowed down to receive the death blow, he would aim a mortal stroke and put him quickly out of his misery.

δὲ μὴ ἐμαλάχθη τὴν λιθώδη καρδίαν, ἀλλ' ἤθελεν ἐντρυφᾶν τῆς μανίας, μᾶλλον τοῖς τῶν ἀλόντων ἀτυχήμασι τὸν θυμὸν διεγείρων, μεληδὸν κατήκιζε τὸ προστυχὸν σῶμα καὶ πολλῶν θανάτων φορὰν ἐν μιᾷ συμφορᾷ τῷ δειλαίῳ παρείχετο. 7 οὐδὲν δὲ ἕτερον ἦν ἀκούειν ἐν οὕτω
 65 παμπληθεὶ καὶ πολυανθρώπῳ δήμῳ, ἀλλ' ἡ μόνον τὸν συριγμὸν τῶν ξιφῶν καὶ τῶν τοῦ αἵματος ὀχετῶν τὴν μετὰ βίας ἔκρυσιν.

46. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ καὶ πάντες ἔκειντο, θέαμα πολλῶν | ὀδυρμῶν καὶ θρήνων ἐπάξιον. 2 ὥς δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔφθανε ἡ τομή (τῷ τείχει γὰρ εἶδον συγκεκυφότης), ἐφώρμησαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν καθάπερ
 70 εἰς τι πρόχειρον θήραμα. 3 φθάσαντες δὲ πλησίον τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐπέσχον. 4 ἦν γὰρ ὁ ῥηθεὶς ἐν τῷ μεταξύ πύργος, δι' οὗ διελθεῖν ἐμελλον καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι, ὃς πάλαι ἦν τὸ ἔδαφος ἅπαν ζύλοις ἐστρωμένος, ἅτινα τῷ χρόνῳ σαπέντα καὶ διαρρεύσαντα οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ παρείχον τὴν ἐκεῖθεν διάβασιν. 5 δύο γὰρ μόνον κατὰ μέσον ζύλα ἐναπηγώ-
 75 ρηντο, δι' ὧν οἱ ταύτην διερχόμενοι ὑπότρομον τὴν πάροδον ἐπεποιή-ηντο. 6 τὸ ἀμφίκριμνον οὖν τοῦ κινδυνώδους τόπου κατιδόντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐφώρσαν μὴ πως ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ξύλων γενομένων αὐτῶν λάθωμεν τέχνασμα τι πεποιηκότες εἶσω τοῦ πύργου καὶ κρημνισθῆναι τούτους παρασκευάσωμεν, εἰς ὕψος ἐπηρμένου πολὺ καὶ χαλεπὴν τὴν
 80 πτώσιν ἐπαπειλοῦντος. 7 τοῦτο δὲ ὁ τῶν θαυμασίων θεὸς ταῖς αὐτῶν διανοίαις ὑπέβαλεν. 8 εἰ γὰρ ἅμα τῷ πρὸς ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι τομῶς τῆς διαβάσεως κατετόλμησαν, οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ ἡμεῖς τῶν κειμένων τὸν ὄλεθρον ὑπεμένομεν. 9 τῆς σχολῆς τέως τῆς τῶν λογισμῶν αὐτῶν διαιρέσεως, τοῦ φόβου τὰς ψυχὰς ἕκαστος ἡμῶν περιάranτες, εἴ τι
 85 καὶ δέοι πράττειν τῷ καιρῷ χρήσιμον ταῖς φρεσὶ κατεμεριζόμεθα. 10 ὥς οὖν εἶχον ἐγὼ τάχους ἀναπηδήσας καὶ θανάτου καταφρονήσας καὶ μηδ' ὃ τι κατὰ κόρης ἐφέστηκε τὸ παράπαν εἰς νοῦν θέμενος, κατ' αὐτὴν γενόμενος τοῦ πύργου τὴν εἴσοδον ἐμελλον διὰ | τῶν ξύλων πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους χωρεῖν. 11 οἱ δ' ἐπειδὴ οὕτω με θαρσαλέως πρὸς αὐτοὺς
 90 κατεῖδον αὐτομολήσαντα, ἄσπλον μὲν καὶ πρὸς ἄμυναν οὐδὲν ἐπιφερόμενον, ἔχοντα δὲ τι σπουδαῖον εἰπεῖν, ἐπῆλθον καὶ αὐτοὶ στοιχηδὸν ἀλλήλους συντάξαντες καὶ τὰς δεξιὰς ἀνατείναντες, τὰς τε μαχαίρας κατὰ τῆς ἐμῆς κορυφῆς ἐπαγαγεῖν σχηματισάμενοι. 12 ὥς δ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο με τέως καταπτῆξαι πεποίηκεν (ὅλον γὰρ εἶχον τὸν νοῦν πρὸς
 95 ἅπερ ἤθελον λέγειν ἡσχολημένον), εἰς τις τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν, καὶ τούτων μάλιστα ὁ γενναιότερός τε καὶ εὐτολμότερος, μεγέθει τῶν λοιπῶν διεννοχῶς, κατ' ἐμὲ γενόμενος ἐπεχείρει μοι τὴν μάχαιραν κατενεγκεῖν τῷ μετώπῳ. 13 ἐγὼ δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνασχών „μὴ τοῦτο πράξης“ εἶπον, „ἐπεὶ πολλῶν χρημάτων σεαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς περὶ σὲ ζημιοῖς.“

On the Capture of Thessaloniki

But if he did not soften in his heart of stone and wished instead to revel in his madness, rousing himself to greater fury at his hapless captives' helpless plight, then he would mutilate the victim's body limb by limb and cause the unfortunate wretch to suffer many deaths in one disaster. And in so huge a crowd of people nothing could be heard save the swish of swords and the sound of blood spurting out in torrents.

§46. In a short time they all lay dead, a fitting spectacle for abundant wailing and lamentation. When the slaughter reached us (they had seen us crouching down together on the wall), they rushed with one accord as though to pounce on an easy prey. But when they got near, they checked their furious onslaught. Between us and them stood the tower already referred to. To reach us they would have to pass through it. In the past the whole area had been floored in with wooden planks, but these had rotted and crumbled away in the course of time and afforded a precarious passage. Only two planks lay suspended across the middle and those who passed over them must do so in fear and trembling. Observing how steep and perilous a place it was, the barbarians became suspicious lest, once they were halfway over the planks, it might transpire that unknown to them, we had set a trap for them inside the tower and were about to send them crashing down from the it; which, given its great height, threatened to be a nasty fall. God, who performs His wonders, put this thought into their minds. For had they dared to make a quick dash over to the other side as soon as they had come up to us, we too would have suffered death no less than those who already lay dead. In the time it took them to make up their minds we recovered from our fear and considered frantically how best to deal with our immediate predicament. With no concern for death and completely oblivious of the fate that confronted me, I sprang to my feet as fast as I could, reached the entrance to the tower and proceeded to make my way over the planks towards the barbarians. When they saw me setting out boldly of my own free will towards them, with neither armour nor defensive weapons but with something important to say they too approached, walking in single file and close formation, holding up their right hands and making as if to come down with their swords on my head. But when even this did not so far have the effect of frightening me (my mind was completely absorbed in what I wanted to say) one of the Ethiopians, the most courageous and daring of them and the biggest, made for me and tried to fetch me a blow on the forehead with his sword. I held up my hands and cried: 'Do not do this! You will make yourself and your companions lose a great deal of money'.

5 47. Οὕτως ἔτυχον εἰπών, καὶ τῷ πεπαρρησιασμένῳ τοῦ σχήματος
 τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ Αἰθίοπος τέως πρὸς τὸ μὴ τὴν τομὴν ἐνεγκεῖν ἀνακόψας,
 τὴν λαιὰν δὲ τῶν χειρῶν ἐγκρύψας εἶσω τοῦ κόλπου καὶ τινὰ χρύσεια
 κόσμια τὸ τάχος ἐξενεγκὼν καὶ τῇ παλάμῃ τούτου ἐνθέμενος, „ἔστωσάν
 10 σοὶ ταῦτα“ ἔφη „ἐνέχυρα τῆς ζωῆς τῆς ἐμῆς. 2 εἴπερ δὲ πολὺ πλείονα
 τοῦτων εὐπορῆσαι βούλει, τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰδελφῷ
 τοῦ πατρός“, ἐπιστραφεὶς καὶ τούτους ἐν ᾧπερ ἦσαν τόπῳ τῷ δακτύλῳ
 καθυποδείξας, „τὸ μὴ θανεῖν κατεγγύησαι, καὶ παρέξομαί σοι χρήσιμα
 δῶρα, τῇ προσδοκίᾳ ὑμῶν ἐν τισὶν ἀφανέσι τόποις προαποθεμιμένα,
 οὓς ἡμεῖς τε μόνοι διαγινώσκομεν καὶ ὑμῖν προθύμως σωτηρίας τυγ-
 15 χάνοντες ὑποδειξομεν. 3 εἰ δὲ γε θάνωμεν, διόλωλεν ἐκείνα, τὰς τε ὑμῶν
 διεκφυγόντα χεῖρας καὶ τῆς ζωῆς τῆς ἡμετέρας συναπολήξαντα,“
 4 τούτοις τὸν θυμὸν παρακατασχών τοῦ βαρβάρου, καὶ τῇ ἐπιδόσει τῶν
 κοσμίῳν εἰς ὑπόνοιαν ὧν φθάσας εἶπον τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ ἐμβαλὼν, ἐν
 οἷς ποικίλως ἑαυτὸν πρὸς ἱκεσίαν κατεσχημάτιζον. 5 οὐδὲ γὰρ ᾔδει
 20 βάρβαρος ὧν ἅ πρὸς αὐτὸν διελεγόμην, ἀλλ’ ἡ μόνον ἐφαίνετο θαυμάζων
 τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ τὸ σεσοφισμένον τῆς πληροφορίας παντὶ τρόπῳ
 κατενεργούμενον.

48. Ἐν τούτοις ἕτερός τις ἐγγύθεν ἔλθων ἀφῆκε φωνήν, „τί ταῦτα
 οὕτως ποιεῖς, καὶ τὸν Αἰθίοπα ταῖς ἱκεσίαις παρακατέχεις, ἐξὸν εἰπεῖν
 25 πρὸς ἐμέ; καὶ εἴ τι καὶ δέοι, συναντιλήψομαί σοι.“ 2 ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ πλεόν
 θαρσύνων καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς παρουσίᾳ πρὸς τὸ εὐθυμότερον μετατε-
 θεὶς ἀνέκραγον, „σῶσον“ εἰπών, „ὅστις εἰ, πρὸς θεοῦ ἡμῖν ἐν τούτοις
 χρεωδῶς ἀπεσταλμένε, καὶ τῆς παρούσης ἀνάγκης ἐξάρπασον. 3 λήψη
 δὲ παρ’ ἡμῶν ταύτης τῆς χάριτος ἐνεκεν ἄξια τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν λύτρα,
 30 καὶ ὧν οὐδὲν ἐξ ἴσου κατὰ πᾶσαν ἦν ἡλωτε τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ἐν ἄλλοις
 τισὶν εὐρεθήσεται.“ 4 ἐκεῖνος οὖν „θαρσεῖτε“ ἔφη, „καὶ τοῦ θανάτου
 τῆς ἐννοίας ἀπόσχεσθε, καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὐθυμότερον ἑαυτοὺς μεθαρμόσατε.
 5 ἐγὼ δέ“ φησι „καὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας πείσω τὰ αὐτὰ μοι συνθέσθαι, καὶ
 35 πρὸς τὸ καὶ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου λαβεῖν τὴν περὶ τοῦ ζῆν πληροφορίαν. 6 μόνον
 αὐτοὶ τὰ ὑποσχεθέντα πληρῶσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους διανοήθητε· εἰ γὰρ
 τι τῶν παρ’ ὑμῶν λεχθέντων μὴ πρὸς ἔργον ἀχθῇ, ταῖς μαχαίραις ταύ-
 ταις κριθήσεται.“ 7 ὥς οὖν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, εὐθύς ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐμὸς
 40 σὺν τοῖς ῥηθεῖσι δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς καθ’ ἡμᾶς γενόμενοι, καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ
 τούτου τὰς κεφαλὰς προσερείσαντες, ἐδέοντο τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμοὶ πληροφο-
 ρίαν λαβεῖν, βεβαιούμενοι πληρῶσειν ἐτοίμως ὅσα ἐγὼ προκατ-
 εἶπον. 8 θᾶττον οὖν ἐκεῖνος πάντα ἅ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἠκηκόει ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων

§7. Those were my actual words, and by the air of independence with which I uttered them I managed for the moment to check the fury of the Ethiopian and to induce him to stay his hand. Then I thrust my left hand into the bosom of my cloak and quickly brought out some gold ornaments, which I put into his hand and said, 'Let these stand surety to you for my life. And if you want to get hold of a great deal more than this, then guarantee the safety of my father, my brothers and my father's brother' (I turned and pointed to them and to where they were) 'and I shall give you valuable gifts, which were stored away in secret hiding places in advance of your expected arrival. Only *we* know where they are and we shall be happy to show you where that is, if we are granted our lives. But if we die, then that is the end of them: they will to all intents and purposes simply slip out of your hands and cease to be, along with ourselves.' With these words I restrained the barbarian's fury, and by presenting him with the jewellery I gave him some indication of the meaning of what I had just said. Also I accompanied my words with a variety of suppliant gestures. Being a barbarian, he did not understand a word I was saying, but he did seem to be surprised at the confidence and determination with which I was making my point.

§48. In the meantime another person came up and said 'Why do you detain the Ethiopian with your entreaties when you are in a position to speak directly to me? And if need be, I shall come to your assistance.' Reassured and encouraged by the man's presence, I called out: 'God has sent you to us in our hour of need, whoever you are, save us and rescue us from our present affliction! In return for this favour you will receive from us a ransom worthy of our lives, a ransom the like of which will not be found amongst any other of the inhabitants in the whole of this city which you have captured.' 'Take heart,' he said, 'dismiss all thoughts of death and put yourselves into a more cheerful frame of mind. And I,' he said, 'will bring the Ethiopians over to my way of thinking and I shall even take you to the commander-in-chief of the entire expeditionary force so that you may receive from his hands also an assurance of your personal safety. Only make sure that you find between you the means of fulfilling your promises. For if any of the things you have said is not accomplished, judgment will be delivered by these swords.' While he was saying this my father and the two brothers who have already been mentioned came up to us and threw themselves at his feet, begging to receive the same assurance as I had received and guaranteeing to fulfil readily everything that I had promised in advance. He quickly told the others everything that we had said to him,

ἐνθήμενος ἀκοαῖς, καὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα ᾧ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐγὼ περιέτυχον
ἐκαστα προσειπών, λόγον τε πείσας ἔνορκον ἡμῖν παρασχεῖν, οὕτως
45 μηδὲν παρήνει τοῦ λοιποῦ δεδιέναι.

49. Συλλαβόμενοι δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ τείχους καταβιβάσαντες, εἰς
μέσους τε αὐτῶν διαλαβόντες, ἦγον τὴν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐπάνω τῶν
σωμάτων τῶν ἤδη ἀναιρεθέντων βαδίζοντες. 2 τῆς οὖν εἰσω πόλεως
τὴν πύλην ἐμβάντες οὐ κατευθύνοντες τὴν πορείαν ἐποιοούμεθα, ἀλλὰ τῷ
50 ὑπτιάζοντι μέρει τραπέντες τοῦ ἐκείσε βουνοῦ πρὸς τὸ κάταντες ἐφε-
ρόμεθα. 3 ἔνθα καὶ τινες ἄλλοι κατεφάνησαν ἀνιόντες Αἰθίοπες, καὶ
αὐτοὶ μαχαίρας κατέχοντες ταῖς χερσίν, οἱ καὶ μέσον τῶν ἤδη χειρωσα-
μένων διειλημμένους ἑωρακότες ἡμᾶς τῇ φυσικῇ μανίᾳ πληγέντες ὥρμη-
σαν ἀναιδῶς, πόρρωθεν δεικνύμενοι τοῦ κινουῦντος θυμοῦ τὴν ἐπίτασιν.
55 4 ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καθ' ἡμᾶς γεγονότες ἔγνωσαν μηδὲν ἡμῖν ἐπενεχθῆναι δεινὸν
τοὺς ἤδη προειληφότας | σπουδάζοντας, ἐν ἑαυτοῖς σκεδασθέντες ὑπαν-
εχώρησαν. 5 εἰς δὲ τις αὐτῶν ἀναιδέστερος τῶν ἄλλων ὥς εἰκὸς καὶ
θρασύτερος, ὥσπερ τις ὑλακτικὸς κύων μεμηνῶς κατηκολούθει, καὶ τινα
πληῖξαι τῇ μαχαίρᾳ δολερῶς ἐτεκταίνετο. 6 ἓνα γὰρ τινα τῶν ἐλόντων
60 ἡμᾶς ἑαυτὸν εἶναι προσποιησάμενος ἔλαθεν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, ὑποσῦραι
τῶν ἄλλων ἐμὲ καὶ μικρὸν ἀποστὰς ἀνελεῖν ἐπεχείρει. 7 ἀνῶμωξα οὖν
εὐθύς· 8 ὁ δὲ πατήρ ὁ ἐμὸς τεταραγμένος συστραφεῖς (καὶ γὰρ ἔτυχον
σὺν αὐτῷ βαδίζων) ὥς τῷ θανάτῳ με παρεστῶτα κατείδε καὶ τὸν
δήμιον βρύχοντα μέλλοντά τε τὸ ξίφος τῷ τραχήλῳ μου βάπτειν,
65 κατέχοντα τῶν τριχῶν, τὸν ἤδη περισωσάμενον ἡμᾶς τοῦ πρῶτον κιν-
δύνου ἐγγύθεν ὄντα τῇ χειρὶ νύξας, καὶ σπουδῇ τὸ δράμα καθυποδεί-
ξας, 9 „τί ὅτι“ ἔφη „καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν τοῦ ἐμοῦ παιδὸς κατεψηφίσασθε
θάνατον, τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀλογήσαντες ὑποσχέσεων; 10 εἰ οὖν αὐτὸς
θάνοι, οὐδ' ἡμῖν λυσιτελεῖς ἔστιν ἡ ζωή. 11 ἀλλ' ἐξελοῦ τοῦτον τοῦ
70 κατέχοντος, εἰ τις καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν σοι φροντίς· εἰ δὲ μή, τῷ ἐκείνου λυ-
θρῷ σπεῖσον καὶ ἡμᾶς. 12 οὐδὲ γὰρ διηρημένην φέρομεν ἐξ ἀλλήλων
ὑπομεῖναι τὴν τελευτήν.“ 13 εὐθύς οὖν θορυβηθέντα ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκ-
δραμεῖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐπιστάντα τῷ τόπῳ τὴν δεξιὰν κατασχεῖν
τοῦ βαρβάρου τεταμένην οὔσαν καὶ τὴν σφαγὴν σχηματίσασαν. 14 ὃς
75 καὶ ἐπισχεθεῖς, ὥς μὴ δυνηθεῖς τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκτελέσαι, πρὸς πλείονα
ἐξήπτο θυμόν· καὶ φρίξας τὰς σιαγόνας τοὺς τε ὀφθαλμοὺς στρεβλώσας
καὶ τοὺς | ὀδόντας κροτήσας (τοῦτο γὰρ βαρβάρων ἔθος), φόνιόν τι

giving particularly detailed explanations to the man whom I had first encountered, got them to give us a sworn undertaking [not to harm us] and advised us not to be afraid any longer.

§49. They took hold of us and made us come down from the wall. Then they placed us in their midst and led us off along the road to the sea, stepping over the corpses of those who had already been slaughtered. We passed through the gate to the inner city but did not continue straight ahead: instead, we turned towards that part of the hill there that slopes backwards, and we began to make our way down. Thereupon some other Ethiopians came into sight. They were coming up the slope and they too had swords in their hands. When they saw us in the midst of our recent captors they were seized with their native madness and made a shameless rush, showing clearly from a long way off the intensity of the rage that was driving them on. But when they reached us and saw that those who had taken us prisoner were anxious that we should come to no harm, they dispersed and withdrew. But one of them, evidently more shameless and bolder than the rest, followed us with the persistent fury of a barking dog, looking for a chance to deal someone a stealthy blow with his sword. He pretended, in fact, to be one of our captors, managed somehow to drag me away from the others without being noticed, and once he was a little distance away, tried to kill me. I cried out immediately. My father turned round in dismay (I happened to have been walking at his side) and when he saw that I was face to face with death, that the killer was licking his lips, on the point of plunging his sword into my neck, and holding me by the hair, he nudged the man who had already rescued us from recent danger and who was nearby, and quickly showing him what was going on, said, 'Why and on what grounds have you condemned my son to death, in complete disregard of your promises to us? If he dies, then our life is no use to us either. So make the man let go of him, if you have any concern for us. Otherwise, shed our blood too along with his! For we cannot bear to die a separate death.' In some alarm at these words, the man rushed off, reached the spot and stayed the barbarian's hand just as it was stretched out and poised to deal the death blow. Being checked and prevented from getting his own way, however, had the effect of goading him to even greater fury. With his jaws quivering, rolling his eyes, gnashing his teeth (the barbarians behave in this way) and casting murderous and fearsome glances, he strove to

καὶ βλοσυρὸν ἐνιδῶν, ἐπεχείρει τοῦ κατέχοντος ἑαυτὸν ἀπορρηῆσαι καὶ αὐθὶς μοι ἐπελθεῖν. 15 οὐκ εἶα δὲ τοῦτον ἐκείνος ὁ πρὸς θεοῦ πεμφθεὶς
 80 ἡμῖν ἐν καιρῷ σωτὴρ, ἀλλὰ πάσαις αὐτὸν κολακείαις μετατρέπειν ἐμψυχάζετο. 16 ὥς δ' οὐδὲν ἡνέετο τούτοις πλέον αὐτῷ, μᾶλλον ἐκείνου τῷ θυμῷ διεγειρομένου καὶ φόνον ἐρευγομένου, ὥς καὶ λαθεῖν αὐτὸν ἅπαξ κατὰ τοῦ νώτου μου τὴν μάχαιραν αἴφνης κατενεγκεῖν καὶ πληῆσαι
 πληγὴν μανίας πλήρη, τὴν καὶ μέχρι νῦν δεικνῦσαν τῆς δεξιᾶς τὴν
 85 ἐπίτασιν, ἄθρόον πρὸς τὸ ὀργιλώτερον ἑαυτὸν ἀλλοιώσας ὁ θαυμάσιος ἐκείνος ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸν Αἰθίοπα στερρῶς ὠθίσας, ἐμέ τε συναρπάσας ἤδη παρὰ πόδας ἐστῶτα καὶ τῷ τῆς ὠτειλῆς περιρρέομενον αἵματι, δρομαίως τὸ τάχος πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους ἐχώρει.

50. Ὡς οὖν μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους γενόμενος καὶ αὐθὶς ἐγώ, καὶ τότε
 90 τὸ κακὸν διαδράς, τὴν εὐχαριστίαν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐποιοῦμην, λαβόμενος τε σχολῆς τὴν τοῦ νώτου πληγὴν κατενόουν, αἰφνιδίῳ πάλιν δευτέρας πληγῆς ἐπησθόμην, πλέον ἢ πρότερον ὀδύναις βληθείς. 2 ὁ γὰρ τολμηρὸς ἐκείνος, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν ἄλλοθεν ἐπιστάς, ὠθισέ μοι κατὰ πλευρὰν ἐκ τῆς ὀπίσω τὸ ξίφος, δεινὸν ἀλαλάξας καὶ τὸ ἀκάθεκτον τοῦ τρόπου
 95 τῇ φωνῇ παραστήσας. 3 ὥς εἰπεῖν συνόντι μοι τῷ ὑπερμαχοῦντι ἀνδρὶ „τίνος χάριν τῆς ἐμῆς μόνης ζωῆς ἠφειδήσατε καὶ τῷ βαρβάρῳ τούτῳ“ συστραφεῖς καὶ τὸν Αἰθίοπα δείξας „πρὸς θάνατον ἐκδεδώκατε; 4 τοῦτο γινόν|τες ἔστε, ὥς εἰ μὲν κοινῇ πάντες, οὓς τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐβεβαιώσασθε, τὸν θάνατον διαφύγοιμεν, πέρας λάβοι καὶ ἅπερ ἡμεῖς ὑπεσχόμεθα· εἰ δ' ἐνὶ γέ τινι τύχοι δι' ἀμέλειαν ἐπιστάς θάνατος, πάντες τῷ
 5 ἐκείνου πτώματι τὴν ζωὴν συμπεράνωμεν καὶ οὐδενὸς ὑμεῖς τῶν ἐλπίζομένων ἐντεύξησθε. 5 ἀλλ' εἴπερ μὴ πρὸς ἀπάτην ἀλλ' ἀληθῆς γέγονεν ὁ διὰ μέσου προτεθεὶς ὅρκος, πάσῃ μηχανῇ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἡμῖν συντηρήσατε, καὶ εὖ ἴστε πάντα καὶ ἡμᾶς πληρώσειν ὅσα πρὸς ὑμᾶς
 10 συνεθέμεθα.“ 6 ταῦτα ἐκείνος ἀκηκοὺς καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν γνωρίσας ἔπεισε πάντας ἐφορμήσαντας κατὰ τοῦ δυσμενοῦς μακρὰν αὐτὸν ἀπελάσαι· οἱ δὲ καὶ κυκλώσαντες ἡμᾶς ἔκτοτε σχολαιοτέρως ἐβάδιζον.

51. Ἦλθομεν δὲ κατὰ τινὰ τόπον ἔνθα μονὴ τίς ἐστὶ παρθένων ἀσκουσῶν γυναικῶν, ἣτις πάλαι τοῦ Ἀκρουλλίου κατονομάζεται.
 15 2 καὶ πάλιν ἄλλη τινὶ κουστωδίᾳ βαρβάρων ἐντυχόντες κατὰ τὴν προαυλαίαν οἱ μεθ' ἡμῶν βάρβαροι καὶ τι μικρὸν συστάντες αὐτοῖς ἔδοξαν εἰσω χωρεῖν ὥς τι σπουδαῖον τοπάσαντες ἐφευρεῖν. 3 συνειπόμεθα

break loose from the man who was restraining him and to attack me once again. But that providential agent who had been sent to our rescue in the nick of time did not allow him to do so and in fact tried by every kind of cajolery to make him change his mind. But when these efforts of his were all to no avail and the creature became more enraged and was fairly spitting murder so that he even managed once without being noticed to come down suddenly on my back with his sword and deal me a frenzied blow (and to this day my back displays the violence of the hand that dealt it), that wonderful man suddenly lost his temper and shoved the Ethiopian out of the way. Then he pulled me up as I lay at his feet, drenched with blood from my wound, and rushed off with me in the direction of his companions.

§50. When I was back among the crowd once more, having come through this ordeal too, and was thanking God and pausing to consider the blow I had received on my back, I suddenly felt a second thrust and was stabbed more painfully than before. That thug had somehow managed to get to me and had driven his sword from behind into my side. And just to demonstrate the utter savagery of his nature, he let out a blood-curdling cry. Whereupon I said to the man who had been protecting me and was with me, 'Why are you careless of my life only, and have consigned me to death at the hands of the barbarian?' And turning and pointing to the Ethiopian, I continued, 'Know this: if we, all of us without exception, to whom you gave a sworn undertaking, escape with our lives, what we promised shall be carried out. But if anyone among us is killed through carelessness, we shall all bring our lives to an end together with his life, and you will not obtain any of the things that you are hoping for. So, if the oath that you swore in public was a true one and not designed merely to trick us, use every possible means to ensure our safety and rest assured that we, for our part, will keep our side of the bargain.' When he heard this he explained what it meant to his companions and persuaded them all to make a dash at my enemy and drive him far away. Then they closed ranks around us and marched more slowly thereafter.

§51. We came to a place where there is a nunnery, which has long been known by the name Tou Akrouliou.⁹⁷ Once again,⁹⁸ the barbarians who were escorting us met another barbarian patrol. They met them in the forecourt, conferred with them for a while and decided to go in with an air of having guessed that they would find something important. We followed

δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἡμεῖς, τοὺς παρόντας ὑποβλεπόμενοι καὶ μὴ πω τὰς
 ψυχὰς τῆς προτέρας σκοτοδίνης ἀπαγαγόντες. 4 ὥς οὖν εἰσήειμεν
 20 τοῦ ναοῦ τὰ προπύλαια ὅς τοῦ ἀγίου ἐπικέκληται Γεωργίου, ὀρῶμέν
 τινὰ βάρβαρον σκιμποδίῳ ἐγκαθεζόμενον, ἀνασπάσαντά τε τὰς ὀφρύας
 ξίφος τε κατέχοντα γεγυμνωμένον, καὶ ἀτενὲς τοὺς ἐστῶτας βλέποντας
 εἰς αὐτόν, εἴ τι | καὶ βούλοιτο πράττειν, ἐτοίμους εἶναι ταῖς ὁρμαῖς
 ὑπεμφαίνοντας. 5 ὥς οὖν κατ' αὐτόν ἐγενόμεθα, ἤρετο τοὺς περὶ
 25 ἡμᾶς τίνες ἐσμέν καὶ ποῖα προφάσει τὸν θάνατον διεφύγομεν. 6 οἱ δὲ
 πάντα συντόμως ἐξεῖπον, καὶ τῶν νώτων ἡμῶν λαβόμενοι πρηνεῖς
 τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ τῷ ἐδάφει προσέρρηξαν. 7 ὁ δὲ τὸ ξίφος, ὅπερ ἔτυχε
 ταῖς χερσὶ κατέχων, ἑτέρως ἢ ὥς πέφυκε τέμνειν ἀνθυποστρέψας, ἐπά-
 30 ρειν ἐκέλευε, καὶ „τοῦτό“ φησι „τῆς ἀσφαλείας τεκμήριον ἔχοντας
 μηδὲν τοῦ λοιποῦ δεινὸν ὑμᾶς ὑποπτεύειν παρεγγυῶ.“ 9 τοῖς παρ-
 εστῶσι δὲ βαρβάροις τοῦ ναοῦ τὰς πύλας, αἱ τέως ὑπῆρχον κεκλει-
 σμέναι, προστάξας ἀναρριπίσαι, τῆς καθέδρας ἐξαναστὰς καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν
 πατέρα τῇ λαίᾳ ταῖν χεροῖν, τῇ ἑτέρᾳ δὲ τῶν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ δύο ἀδελφῶν
 35 ἓνα κατέχων, ἔνδον εἰσήει τοῦ σεβασμίου σηκοῦ. 10 ὁ δὲ ἦν ἅπας
 πεπιληρωμένος ἐλεεινῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν αὐτῷ προκαθειρθέντων, τρια-
 κοσίων περὶ πού τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὥς ἐν ὑστέρῳ κατεμανθάνομεν.

52. Οὐκ ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ μαιφόνων πλήθος τῷ δυσμενεῖ συνεισηλθεν.
 2 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος εὐθύς εἰσπηδήσας ἀνῆλθεν ἐπάνω τοῦ καθηγιασμένου
 40 βωμοῦ, ἐν ᾧ παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἡ μυστικὴ τελεῖται λατρεία· 3 καὶ τοὺς
 πόδας συμπλέγδην ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἀνθυποστρέψας, ὥς ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς
 βαρβάροις, ἐκάθητο γέμων θυμοῦ καὶ ἀπονοίας, τὸν τε δῆμον τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων περισκοπῶν, καὶ ὅπερ ἐβούλετο δρᾶν, τῇ κακεντρεχεῖ
 τῶν φρενῶν διοικούμενος. 4 τὸν ἐμὸν δὲ πατέρα καὶ ἀδελφὸν ἐκατέ-
 45 ραῖς διαλαβὼν ταῖς χερσὶ, καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦ πού πρὸς τῇ εἰσόδῳ φυλάτ-
 τεσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἐλόντων ἐγκελευσάμενος, νεύματι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀνε-
 λεῖν ἐκείνους προσέταττεν. 5 οἱ δὲ τὸ τάχος καθάπερ ἀτίθασοι λύκοι
 θήρας ἐπιτυχόντες, οὕτως ἠπειγμένως καὶ ἀνηλεῶς τοὺς ἀθλίους κατέ-
 50 πράττειν, πρὸς τὸν δεινὸν ἐκείνον δικαστὴν ἀπεσκόπου. 7 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ-
 νος μὲν τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν αὐτοὺς τέως ἐπιχειρήσεως διεκώλυσεν, ἐδόκει
 δὲ ἡμῖν αὐτόθι φυλαττομένοις τὸν τε πατέρα καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῖς
 κειμένοις συναναιρεθῆναι καὶ μόνους ἡμᾶς φειδοῦς ἀξιωθῆναι. 8 πάλιν
 ἐκείνοις περὶ ἡμῶν αὐτὸ τοῦτο, τῷ βωμῷ φυλαττομένοις, λογιζέσθαι

them, staring blankly at those present and still reeling from the previous shock. When we had entered the porch of the church which is named after Saint George,⁹⁹ we saw a barbarian seated on a chair with a frown on his face and a drawn sword in his hand. His minions stood watching him intently as though to signify that, should he want anything done, they were ready to spring into action. As we came up to him he asked those who were escorting us on what pretext we had escaped death. They quickly told him everything, seized us by the shoulders and threw us down prostrate at his feet. Turning his sword round, he struck each of us once with the blunt edge on the back of the head. Then he told us to get up and to take heart. 'Now that you have received this token of your safety,' he said, 'you have nothing, I assure you, about which you should be apprehensive in the future.' And he ordered the barbarians who were standing nearby to throw open the doors of the church, which had up to then been closed, rose from his seat, and taking my father with his left hand and one of my two brothers with the other hand, he went inside the holy church. It was packed with pitiful creatures who had earlier been incarcerated there, about three hundred souls, as we discovered later.

§52. Our foe was accompanied by a large retinue of murderous fiends. He leaped straightaway on to the consecrated altar, on which the priests perform the mystic rites of divine service. He sat there, his legs crossed in barbarian fashion, filled with demented rage and scrutinizing the crowd of men and actively contemplating his malevolent designs. Seizing my father and my brother and instructing our captors that we were to be held at the entrance, he signalled to the barbarians to start a massacre. With the speed of savage wolves falling upon their prey they butchered their unhappy victims without mercy. Then, still boiling with rage, they looked to that terrible judge to discover what he would have them do with us. But whereas he had so far prevented them from attacking us, it seemed to us in the place where we were being detained that my father and my brother had perished in the general slaughter and that we were the only ones whose lives it had been decided to spare. They, on the other hand, being held on the altar, had been forced to the same conclusion with regard to our fate. However, we

55 ἐπήρχετο. πλὴν οὐκ εἶχομεν ᾧτινι πέρατι τὴν περὶ ἀλλήλων στῆσαι
 ἀμφιβολίαν. 9 ὥς γὰρ ἔληξεν ὁ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς δυστυχεῖς φόνος,
 πεπληρώτο δὲ τὸ ἔδαφος ἅπαν νενεκρωμένων σωμάτων, μέσον δὲ
 τούτων ἐλίμναζεν ἡ πλήμμυρα τοῦ αἵματος· οὐκ ἔχων ὅπως ὁ μισ-
 φόνος ἐκεῖνος πρὸς τὸ ἐκτὸς γένηται, ἄλλο κατ' ἄλλο τὰ πτώματα τῶν
 60 κειμένων τοῖς ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ ναοῦ περιδρόμοις ἐπιτεθῆναι διεκελεύ-
 σατο. 10 οὗ δὴ καὶ γενομένου θάττον εὐθύς αὐτὸν τοῦ βωμοῦ κατα-
 πηδήσαντα, καὶ πάλιν τὸν ἐμὸν πατέρα καὶ ἀδελφὸν ἐκατέραις χερσὶν
 ἐναγκαλισάμενον γενέσθαι μέχρις ἡμῶν. 11 τοσαύτη δὲ ἦν ἡ ἐκδει-
 ματώσασα τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν τῶν θεαμάτων ἐκείνων ἀχλὺς, ὣν τε ἐν
 65 ἐκείνοις κατείδομεν καὶ ὧν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐτοπάσαμεν, ὥς ἐν | τοσαύτῃ
 πανολεθρία μόνοι διαφυγόντες τὸν θάνατον μηδὲν τι τοῦ σκυθρωποῦ
 καθυφεῖναι, ἀλλὰ μόνον τοῖς προσώποις ἀλλήλων ἐνατενίζειν, ὥσπερ
 ἐκπληττόμενοι καὶ μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀφεῖναι τῷ πράγματι συγχωρούμενοι.
 12 τοὺς πλείονας δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ὁ σοβαρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀποτεμόμενος,
 70 ἵππῳ ἐπιβάς ἐφεστῶτι διέπτῃ ἐκ μέσου ἡμῶν, προστάξας καὶ αὐθις
 συλλαβεῖν ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς τὸν λιμένα τῆς πόλεως σπουδῇ θέειν· 13 αὐτό-
 θι γὰρ κατασπεύδειν καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔφη.

53. Παραλαβόντες οὖν ἡμᾶς ἦγον ὡς τάχιστα, πᾶσαν ἡμῖν παντα-
 χόθεν ἀσφάλειαν περιποιούμενοι. 2 καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῆς ὁδοῦ περι-
 75 πίπτομεν πολλοῖς πλήθεσι τῶν εἰσρεόντων βαρβάρων, πάντων φόνον
 πνεόντων· καὶ οὐ μικρὸν ἦν ἔργον λανθάνειν τούτους, εἰ καὶ ὅτι ῥώμη πολλῇ
 σωμάτων καὶ οἱ προειληφότες ἡμᾶς Αἰθίοπες ὑπῆρχον ἀνεσταλμένοι,
 καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν ὁ καταπτῆξαι ἡ τῆς ὁρμῆς αὐτοὺς ἐνδοῦναι τὸ παράπαν
 δυνάμενον. 3 πλὴν οὐ μετ' ὀλίγου καμάτου καὶ ἀγωνίας τὸν ῥηθέντα
 80 λιμένα τῆς πόλεως κατελάβομεν. 4 αὐτόθι γὰρ ἔτυχεν ὧν καὶ ὁ τῶν
 πολεμίων τοῦ στρατοῦ καθηγούμενος, ᾧ δὴ καὶ ἀνηγγέλη τὰ καθ'
 ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν συνόντων βαρβάρων, γνωρισάντων καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν δι'
 ἦν μόνους ἡμᾶς ἐκ πάντων τῶν προστυχόντων περιεσώσαντο. 5 ὃς
 ἐξ αὐτῆς ἕνα τινὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ τῆς καθέδρας ἐξαναστήσας καὶ τοῖς
 85 ἐστῶσιν ἐπισυνάψας τοιαύτην δέδωκε καθ' ἡμῶν αὐτῷ ψῆφον, ὥς εἰ
 μὲν | ἀληθῆ φανεῖεν ὅσα τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐν τῷ τείχει προὔπεσχόμεθα,
 ἔργοις αὐτοῖς πληροούντων τὰς ὑποθήκας, καὶ φειδοὺς ἀξιοθῆναι καὶ πρὸς
 αὐτὸν πάλιν ἀνθυποστρέψαι· 6 εἰ δὲ γε μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ἀληθῶς λεχθὲν
 εὔροιεν, ἀλλ' ἡ προαπολωλεκότας τὰ χρήματα, ἡ τὸν θάνατον δεδιότας
 90 ἅπαντα ψευσαμένους καὶ ὥσπερ τὴν πρώτην ἐντευξιν ἀποκρούσασθαι
 διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην τοῦ καιροῦ σοφισαμένους, τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἕνα ἕκαστον
 ἐκείσε διελόντας τῆς ζωῆς ἀπαλλάξαι. 7 παραχρῆμα οὖν καὶ πάλιν
 μέσους ἡμᾶς διαλαβόντες ἄγειν ἐπέταττον, ἔνθα δὴ τεταμιεῦσθαί φασιν

had no means of clarifying the situation and putting a stop to the anxiety which we felt on one another's behalf. When, in fact the slaughter of those unhappy wretches was concluded, and the entire floor was littered with corpses which swam in pools of blood, the foul murderer was unable to get out. So he gave orders to have the dead bodies stacked on top of one another along the alleyways on either side of the church. As soon as that was done, he leaped down from the altar, and taking my father and brother once more by the arm, he came over to us. So black was the darkness that engulfed our souls at those harrowing and horrific sights (at what we had seen happening to them and had imagined would happen also to us) that even though we were the sole survivors of such massive and indiscriminate slaughter our expressions showed no signs of visible relief. We simply kept staring into one another's faces, as though the experience had driven us out of our wits and deprived us of the gift of speech. Then that appalling fiend dismissed most of the barbarians, mounted a horse that was held in readiness for him and galloped through our midst, having given instructions that we be taken and marched off at the double to the harbour. He would, he said, make haste for the same spot himself.

§53. So they took us and escorted us with all speed and afforded us full and adequate protection from every side. At several points on the way we met with huge numbers of barbarians streaming in and all breathing murder. And it was no easy task to give them the slip, even though our Ethiopian captors were men of great physical strength and there was nothing that could make them flinch or cause them to abate the fury of their onslaught. And yet it was with considerable effort and a great struggle that we reached the already mentioned harbour of the city. In fact the commander-in-chief of the enemy forces was there. The barbarians escorting us told him about our particular circumstances and informed him of the reason why out of all those whom they had encountered we were the only ones whose lives they had spared. He made one of his associates get up from his seat and join those who were standing and he gave him the following ruling with regard to us: if the promises which we had made earlier to the barbarians on the wall were shown to be genuine and our pledges were redeemed by our deeds, then our lives were to be spared and we were to return to him. But if they were to find that there was no truth in what we had said and that we had either already used up the treasure or had fabricated the whole story through fear of death and thus contrived under the pressure of the moment to ward off the first encounter, then they were to hack each one of us to death with their swords. Without further ado, therefore, they put us in their

ὕφ' ὑμῶν προεδηλώθη τὰ χρήματα, ἐξειπόντες καὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν
 95 ἐξενεχθεῖσαν ἀπόφασιν, καὶ ὥς εἴ τι τυχὸν τῶν λεχθέντων μὴ πρὸς
 ἔργον ἀχθείη, τοῖς ξίφεσι τούτοις διακριθήσεται. 8 δέος οὖν ἡμῶν καὶ τότε
 μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἐπεισθῇ, τάχα μή ποὺ τις τῶν οἰκετῶν ἢ τῶν προ-
 πειραθέντων τοῦ τόπου, παραπλησίᾳ περιτυχὼν ἀνάγκη καὶ θέλων καὶ
 αὐτὸς τὸν ὄλεθρον ἐκφυγεῖν, προεσήμανε τὴν δαψίλειαν τῶν κεκρυμμένων,
 5 καὶ μάττην εὐρέθημεν ἡμεῖς τοσαύταις μηχαναῖς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ζωὴν συντη-
 ρούμενοι.

54. Ἄλλ' οὕτω ταῦτα βεβαίως ἔχοντες σκοπεῖν, πεφθάκαμεν τὸν
 τόπον οὕτως ἔχοντα καθὼς ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς φυλακῆς ἐστημειωσάμεθα·
 2 ὕφ' ἐνὶ γάρ τινι κρυφίῳ δει ταμείῳ, ὅσοι περ ἂν ἦμεν κατὰ συγγένειαν
 10 ἀγχιστεύοντες, προαποθεῖναι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος, ὥσπερ τοῦ μέλλοντος
 μαντευόμενοι, συμφερόντως ἐβου|λευσάμεθα. 3 οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐξοδὸν τοῖς
 βαρβάροις καθυποδείξαντες, ἥτις ἦν λιθίνη πλακὶ κατησφαλισμένη, ἰστά-
 μεθα τῶν πολλῶν λογισμῶν τὰς ψυχὰς περιάραντες. 4 ἤδειμεν γὰρ
 μηδὲν τοῦ λοιποῦ δεδιέναι χάριν τῆς ὑποσχέσεως, τούναντίον μὲν οὖν καὶ
 15 συμπαθείας τυχεῖν τῷ πλήθει τῆς ἐπιδόσεως. 5 ὥς γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τῶν κρυ-
 φίων ἐπέτυχον, εὐθύς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀργίλου πρὸς τὸ περιχαρὲς μετεβάλλοντο
 καὶ ἡμῖν διευθυμῆσθαι προσέταττον. 6 „τούτοις γὰρ“ ἔφασκον „κατηγ-
 γύησθε τὴν σωτηρίαν, καὶ διὰ τούτων ὑμῖν τὸ ζῆν κεχάρισται σήμερον.
 7 ἀλλ' ἀπέλθωμεν δὴ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἡγούμενον τοῦ στρατοῦ, ὥς ἂν καὶ
 20 παρ' αὐτοῦ τελείαν δέξησθε τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.“ 8 ἦγον οὖν πάλιν ἡμᾶς
 ἐκεῖθεν τὴν ὥς αὐτόν, περιεπίπτομεν δὲ φοβεροῖς τισι καὶ παραδόξοις
 θεάμασιν. 9 ἐκείντο γὰρ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀνηρημένων ἐτι τοῦ λύθρου
 ἐναποστάζοντα, φρικτὸν ὄραμα, πᾶσα ἡλικία τῶν ἀνθρώπων μιᾷ ψήφῳ
 τὸν διὰ ξίφους κατακριθεῖσα θάνατον καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ταφῆς
 25 ἀμοιροῦσα. 10 κατεχεῖτο δὲ κατὰ παντὸς στενωποῦ περιρρέων ὁ οἶνος
 καὶ τοῖς αἵμασι τῶν πεπτωκότων ἀνακίρνώμενος ἅπαν τὸ ἔδαφος τῆς
 πόλεως κατεμέθυσκεν. 11 παριόντες οὖν ἐσκοποῦμεν, καὶ εἴ ποὺ τινὰ
 τῶν ποτε γνωρίμων ἢ φίλων μεταξύ τῶν ἄλλων νεκρῶν ἀπηκριβω-
 σάμεθα, ἡρέμα μόνον τοῖς στεναγμοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῦτον διεσημαί-
 30 νομεν. 12 σχολὴ δ' οὐκ ἦν ἢ θρηνῆσαι τοῦτον ἢ χαρίσασθαι τι τῆς
 ποτε φιλίας τῷ καιρῷ χρήσιμον· ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον ἄπρακτα | τῷ κειμένῳ
 περιαλγήσαντες πάλιν περὶ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐσκεπτόμεθα.

55. Ἦδη δὲ φθασάντων ἡμῶν τὸν λιμένα παρέστημεν τῷ τυράννῳ,
 ὅτε καὶ τοὺς τῶν νηῶν ἀρχηγέτας ἐκκλησιάσας τῆς καλουμένης εὐχῆς
 35 ἐθρήσκειε τὴν δυσσέβειαν· ὅς μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν ἐκείνης τῆς τελετῆς
 ἀχθῆναι ἡμᾶς κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῖς ἐφεστῶσι διεκελεύσατο. 2 ὥς οὖν

midst once more and ordered us to lead them 'to the spot where you (they said) indicated earlier that the valuables had been stored,' and communicated the verdict that had been pronounced against us, namely that if by chance any of our undertakings was not fulfilled 'these swords' would execute the sentence. Whereupon we were overcome by fear, and to a greater degree than before, at the thought that perhaps one of the servants or someone with previous experience of the spot,¹⁰⁰ finding himself in a similar predicament and wishing to escape destruction, had already indicated the extent of the treasure, and that in consequence we might prove in vain to have gone to such great lengths to preserve our own lives.

§54. We were still in a state of uncertainty and suspense on that score when we reached the spot and found it to be exactly as we had described it at the moment of our capture. Those of us who were close relations had, in fact, taken the fortunate and almost prophetic decision of storing away in advance in a secret place of deposit all our personal possessions and valuables. We showed the barbarians the opening leading to it, which was shut fast by a stone slab, and stood waiting with a sense of relief. For we knew that we need fear no further on account of our promise, and that we might, if anything, receive more sympathetic treatment in view of the scale of our contribution. And in fact, as soon as they laid hands on the treasure their mood changed from anger to pleasure and they told us not to worry. 'With these things,' they said, 'you have guaranteed your safety, and it is thanks to them that we have granted you your lives today. But let us go to the commander of the army so that you may receive from him too a full guarantee of safety.' So they took us back to him. On the way we met with fearful and unexpected sights. The bodies of the slain lay still dripping with blood, a gruesome spectacle, persons of every age all condemned alike to a single sentence of death by the sword and all alike bereft of burial. Wine ran in rivulets down every street, mingled with the blood of the fallen and intoxicated the ground on which the city stood.¹⁰¹ We gazed intently as we passed, and whenever we recognized a late acquaintance or friend, we confined ourselves to pointing him out to one another with a whispered sigh. There was no time to mourn him or to bestow some token of grief appropriate to the circumstances of our past friendship. Faced, therefore, with the impossibility of giving the dead man a funeral, we could only turn back sorrowfully to our own concerns.

§55. We reached the harbour and stood near to the tyrant. He had gathered together the captains of the ships and was performing the impiety of their so-called prayer.¹⁰² After the completion of that ritual,

ἤχθημεν, ἐπυνθάνετο τὸν πατέρα, „εἰ ἐπίσκοπός“ φησι „τυγχάνεις τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως;“ 3 ἔτεκμαίρετο γὰρ ὅσον ἐκ τῆς ἐσθῆτος οὐδὲν ἄλλοιον ἔχειν τοῦ ἀξιώματος. 4 ὁ δὲ „οὐκ εἰμι“ ἔφη „κληρικός δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων
 40 εὐχῆς προσδεόμενος.“ 5 ἄλλος δὲ τις ἐγγύθεν ἐστώς, ὃς ἦν ἀρχηγὸς τοῦ ἑτέρου στρατοῦ, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη „ἐπίσκοπος μὲν οὐκ ἐστὶν οὗτος, κατ’ οὐδὲν δὲ διαφέροντα βαθμὸν ἐκείνοις κεκλήρωται· ἔξαρχον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἴσμεν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσης, οὐδὲν τῆς τιμῆς ἐκείνων καθυστερίζοντα.“ 6 „οὗτος δὲ τίς ἐστι;“ τῷ δακτύλῳ σημάνας ἐμέ. 7 „υἱὸς ἐστὶ τοῦδε,“
 45 καὶ αὐτῆς ὁ παρεστὼς ἔφη, „κληρικός καὶ αὐτός, καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς οἰκοῖς τῶν βασιλείων τεταγμένων εἷς. 8 οὗτοι δὲ ἀδελφοὶ τυγχάνουσι τοῦδε,“ τοὺς ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ δύο παραδηλώσας, „ἄμφω δὲ υἱοὶ τοῦδε τοῦ προεστῶτος, διαφόρως μὲν ἀποτεχθέντες αὐτῷ, ἄγοντες δὲ καὶ διάφορον ἡλικίαν.“ 9 „ὁ δὲ συνὼν αὐτοῖς οὗτος ὁ γηραιὸς τίς ἂν εἴη;“ πάλιν ὁ δεινὸς ἦρετο
 50 δικαστῆς. 10 „ἀδελφὸς ἐμός,“ προλαβὼν ὁ πατὴρ ἀπεκρίνατο, νεύματι κάκει|νον συνθέσθαι πρὸς τὴν πεῦσιν ἀναδιδάξας. 11 ἐπειδὴ δὲ τούτων ἀκήκοε, καθεσθῆναι πάντας προσέταξε, καὶ ἑαυτὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπο-
 τεμόμενος ἡσυχῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔφη: 12 „πάσης ὑμῶν πονηρᾶς ὑποψίας ἐκτὸς εἶναι βούλομαι· τό τε γὰρ ἀόπλους τοῖς εἰληφόσιν ἐντυχεῖν καὶ τὸ νῦν ἐν
 55 ὄψεσι ταῖς ἐμαῖς προτεθὲν χρημάτων πλῆθος τὴν ζωὴν ὑμῖν, ἥτις δυσέλ-
 πιστός ἐστι τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἐχαρίσαντο, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν ὑπόνοια τοῦ λοιποῦ θανάτου ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς, οὐδέ τις ἄλλη ἐπὶ πῆρεια παρὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ὑπηκόων. 13 ἄλλ’ ἅπιτε τὰ συμφέροντα συμβουλευόντες ἑαυτοῖς, χρηστάς τε παραζευγνύντες ἐλπίδας. 14 οὕτω γὰρ ἡμᾶς φθάσαι τὴν
 60 Συρίαν γενήσεται, καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ταρσὸν εὐθέως πόλιν τῆς Κιλικίας ὑμᾶς διαπέμψω τηρηθησομένους σὺν τοῖς ἐκεῖ φρουρουμένοις μέχρι τῆς προσδο-
 κωμένης καταλλαγῆς, ἀντίλυτρον ἔχοντας τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καιροῖς οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἐαλωκότας ὁμοεθνεῖς ἡμῶν Ἀγαρηνοὺς, ὧν ἀφικομένων καὶ ὑμεῖς τῶν δεσμῶν λυθήσεσθε καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἕκαστος ἀπολήψεσθε.“ 15 οὕτως
 65 ἔφη, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὑφ’ ἑαυτὸν πάλιν ὑποστραφεῖς τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν διεξήει, βαρβαρίζων τὰ πλεῖστα. 16 οὐδὲν δὲ τέως ἐλάνθανεν ἡμᾶς, τὸν κατ’ ἀρχὰς περιώσαντα εἰσέτι μέσον ἡμᾶς περιάγοντα καὶ πάντα ἐξ ἐκείνου μα-
 νθάνοντας.

56. Τότῳ δὲ τινι τῇ θαλάσῃ περικλυζομένῳ καθεσθέντας ἀσφαλῶς
 70 ἡμᾶς τηρεῖσθαι προσέταξεν. 2 οὗ δὴ γενομένου πρῶτον | τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ θανάτου τέλεον τὰς ψυχὰς μετηγάγομεν καὶ τῇ θεϊκῇ προνοίᾳ τὰ ἐξῆς ἐπετρέπομεν. 3 ἐπήρχετο δὲ τότε τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἡμῶν, ὥσπερ ἄρτι τοῦ κακοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναθεωροῦσιν, ἡ τῶν οἰκείων φροντίς, νύττουσα

he gave orders to his attendants to have us brought before him. When we had been brought there, he began to question my father. 'Are you,' he said, 'the bishop of this city?' For he concluded from the style of his dress that such must indeed be his rank. 'I am not the bishop,' he said, 'but a priest, and one who stands in need of his prayers.' Another man, who was standing nearby and was the leader of the land army,¹⁰³ said to him, 'This man is not a bishop, but he is not one whit inferior in status to one. We know for a fact that he is exarch of the whole of Greece,¹⁰⁴ and has status equivalent to that of a bishop.' 'Who is that?' [asked the other] pointing to me. 'That is his son,' replied the bystander. 'He too is a priest and holds an official position in the household of the [bishop's] palace.'¹⁰⁵ These are his brothers' [he continued], pointing past me towards the two of them. 'Both are sons of the man standing before you here, but there is quite a difference of age between them.' 'And who, pray, is the old man who is with them?' queried once more that exacting and fastidious judge. 'He is my brother,' said my father, answering first and intimating to his brother that he should corroborate this statement with some gesture of assent. When he had heard this, he told everyone to be seated, left the company of the others and said quietly to us, 'I want you to rid yourselves completely of your worst suspicions. The fact that you were unarmed when you encountered your captors and the vast amount of treasure that has been displayed to my view have granted you your life, a rare boon that most men may not hope for, and you have no further grounds for fearing death by treachery or any other form of molestation at the hands of my subjects. So, think of what is best for you and entertain good hopes. We are bound for Syria, and when we get there I shall send you immediately to the city of Tarsos in Kilikia, to be held along with the others who are in detention there until the currently awaited exchange of prisoners¹⁰⁶ takes place. You have as hostages for your safety those fellow Hagarenes of ours who have on numerous occasions been captured by the Romans. When they come home, you too will be set free and will regain, each one of you, his homeland.' Those were his words, and he returned to his subordinates and gave them detailed instructions concerning us, conveying most of what he said in a barbarous language. But no detail escaped us because the man who had first come to our rescue was still escorting us and we learned everything from him.

§56. The commander ordered that we should be kept under strict surveillance in a certain place surrounded by the sea. Once that had happened, we finally banished from our hearts all expectation of death and entrusted our future to Divine Providence. Then, as we were casting our minds back to the start of our misfortune, concern for our relatives assailed our thoughts, and stabbed

τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ κυκλοῦντα ξίφη, πῶς ἄρα ἡ κατὰ ποῖον
 75 τεθήκασι τρόπον, ἢ τίνες αὐτῶν τοῦ κινδύνου διεκφυγόντες εἰς τὴν ὁμοίαν
 ἡμῖν ἀπαγωγὴν ἐκρίθησαν. 4 ὁμως οὐδ' οὕτως εἴχομεν ἀσφαλῶς περὶ
 τούτων γινῶναι διὰ τὸ πρόσφατον γεγονέναι τῶν πολεμίων τὴν εἴσοδον,
 καὶ πάντα μετὰ κραυγῆς ἀσήμεναι καὶ θορύβου τυγχάνειν, καὶ πολὺ
 πλῆθος εἴσω τοῦ λιμένος ἐνστρέφεσθαι τῶν τε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως χειρουμένων
 80 καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων, πῇ μὲν ἐγκωμιαζόντων τὰ σκῦλα, πῇ δὲ
 γυναικας καὶ ὑπομάζια βρέφη ἐκ παντὸς τόπου καὶ πάσης οἰκίας βιαίως
 ἐφελκομένων, ἔλεινόν ὀδυρόμενα καὶ τὴν στέρησιν τῶν μητέρων γοερὸν
 κλαυθυρίζοντα, ἄλλων τῶν ἀρχόντων τινὰς ἢ τῶν περιφανῶν πλουσίων
 κατὰ τινὰς παραπλησίους ἡμῶν αἰτίας τὸν ὄλεθρον διακρουσαμένους
 85 ἀνηλεῶς ἐπισυρομένων. 5 ἤδη γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως
 σταλὲς Νικήτας, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁ τῆς περιχώρου στρατηγὸς χειρωθέντες
 ὑπῆρχον ἐν τισὶ ναυσὶ βαρβαρικάς φυλαττόμενοι. 6 διὰ τοι ταῦτα
 οὐδὲν πλέον ἢ πρὸ τοῦδε περὶ τῶν οἰκείων φροντίζοντες ὠφελοῦμεν. |

57. 'Ἄλλ' ἦν ἰδεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς πραττομένοις καὶ τι καινότερον, τὰς
 90 ἡλιακάς ἀκτῖνας τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν παρατραπίσας καὶ τῷ καύσωνι τῶν
 πειρασμῶν συνεκταθεῖσαν καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν ἐπίτασιν, ὥς ἐν ὀλίγῃ ῥοπῇ
 πελιδνωθῆναι τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀψεις καὶ πρὸς τὴν συμφορὰν μετα-
 βάλλεσθαι, πάντας δὲ ὁμοίως ἐφίεσθαι καὶ ἀπορεῖν ῥανίδος μιᾶς ὕδατος
 τοὺς τε ἐντελεῖς τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τοὺς ἔτι κομιδῇ νέους, οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἄλλ'
 95 ἢ μόνον ἀναψῦσαι μικρὸν τὴν συνέχουσαν δίψαν ἐπιζητοῦντας, καὶ οὐδὲ
 τούτου τυγχάνοντας. 2 ἄλλ' ἐν τούτοις τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης περι-
 ῆλθε διάστημα, πάντων προστάξει τοῦ δυσωνύμου θηρὸς κατὰ διαφόρους
 τόπους σωρηδὸν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀφορισθέντων, οἷς καὶ φύλακας
 ἐφήδρευσαν ὑποβλέπεσθαι τούτους διὰ πάσης νυκτός, μή πού τις ἐκ
 5 μέσου διαδρᾶναι δυνηθεῖη. 3 καὶ ἡμῖν δὲ αὐτοῖς ὥπερ ἤμεν φυλαττόμενοι
 τότῳ συμμιγῆναι προσέταξε τῶν ἀλόντων ἄνδρας ὥσπερ πεντήκοντα, ὧν
 οἱ πλείους καὶ τραυματῖαι ἐτύγχανον, τὰ ἴχνη τοῦ θανάτου τοῖς σώμασι
 περιφέροντες καὶ μηδὲ τοῖς ἐξῆς θαρρεῖν ἔχοντες. 4 ἐκ μέσου γὰρ αὐτῶν
 μέχρι δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν λαβόντες ἐναπέσφαξαν, καὶ οὐδὲ τούτοις ὑπῆρχον
 10 ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ αἱ περὶ τοῦ ζῆν τέως ἐλπίδες, ἄλλ' ἐκλονοῦντο καὶ διεθρύ-
 πτοντο τὴν ὁμοίαν τοῖς κειμένοις ἀπόφασιν περιμένοντες. 5 ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ,
 καθὸ λέλεκται, τὰ περὶ τούτων τέλη παρ' ἑαυτῆς ἔφθασεν ἡ νύξ δια-
 κόψασα, ἐσόβουν τινὲς τῶν βαρβάρων περιερχόμενοι καὶ τισὶ κυμβάλοις
 κτυποῦντες καὶ ἀλαλάζοντες, ἕως πάλιν ἔφθασεν ἐπιστὰς ὁ ὄρθρος,
 15 ὀδυνηρὰν προσδοκίαν τοῖς ἐν ὑποψίᾳ θανάτου μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ κομιζόμενος.

us to the heart with pangs much sharper than the sword blades that surrounded us, and caused us to wonder how and by what manner of means they had met their end, or which of them had escaped danger and been selected for some similar form of transportation. Nevertheless we were unable, even so, to ascertain anything concerning their fate owing to the fact that the enemy had just recently marched in and everything was in a state of chaos and uproar with the ubiquitous din of unintelligible shouting and a great crowd milling about inside the harbour: citizens taken prisoner together with their barbarian captors, some of these latter celebrating the spoils of victory, others dragging off women and babies from every locality and from every type of family. The babies wailed pitifully at being deprived of their mothers while yet other barbarians were dragging mercilessly after them certain prominent and wealthy individuals who had evaded death for more or less the same reasons as we had. Indeed, even the emperor's emissary Niketas, together with the strategos of the region,¹⁰⁷ had been captured and were being held prisoner on board some of the barbarians' ships. And so, we remained just as concerned and distressed about our relatives as we had been all along and as powerless as ever to help them.

§57. In addition to these events it was possible to observe something else that was strange and startling: there had been an unnatural concentration of the sun's rays and the season's intense heat had been further intensified by the fever of bodily torment, with the result that in a very short space of time people's faces had become discoloured, haggard and drawn. All were equally consumed by the same unfulfilled craving for a single drop of water, mature adults and young children: all they wanted was some short respite from the nagging pangs of thirst, yet they were denied even this. It was on this note that that day drew to its close. On the orders of the beast of evil name,¹⁰⁸ the barbarians divided the people into groups and bundled them all into different locations, posting guards over them to keep a strict watch on their movements, and to preclude all possibility of escape. And about fifty prisoners, most of whom were wounded, bore the footprints of death on their bodies and had no grounds for confidence in the future, were, on the orders of the same, made to join us in our place of confinement. The barbarians seized about ten of their number and slew them there and then. The remainder, left without even the temporary reassurance of some slender prospect of survival, were condemned to await in anguish and dejection some similar sealing of their own death warrant. But when, in the manner described, night came and granted them a stay of execution, some of the barbarians began to strut about and went the rounds, banging cymbals and shouting, till morning came again and brought with it a painful prospect to

6 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν πλέον ἢ διὰ ξίφους ὥς ἢ διὰ τῆς δίψης πάντας ἀνήλισκεν, ἥ καὶ σφοδρῶς πιεζόμενοι ἐδεόμεθα τοῖς συνοῦσι καὶ τῶν διερχομένων ὑδάτων τῷ τόπῳ μεταλαβεῖν καὶ τινος βραχείας μετασχεῖν ἀνοχῆς. 7 οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐνένευον, οὐχ ὅτι τινὶ συμπαθεῖα περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐκέχρητο
 20 (πῶς γὰρ οἱ ταῖς σφαγαῖς ἐντρυφῶντες καὶ θάνατον ἀποπνέοντες;), ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκείνο τῆς πόλεως ὃν ἀπάσης τῶν ἀφέδρων ἀπόρροια ἱκανὸν ἦν καὶ δίχα πάσης ἄλλης ἐπιβουλῆς τοὺς μετέχοντας ἀπαλλάττειν. 8 πλὴν ὥς ἀπὸ χιόνος ἄρτι λυθείσης εἰλικρινὲς καὶ ἡδὺ πόμα, οὕτω μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἕκαστος τῷ στόματι τὴν σαπρίαν ἐκείνην προσέφερε καὶ τὴν κύλικα τῆς
 25 δυσωδίας μέλιτος πλήρη τοῖς λογισμοῖς ὑπελάμβανε.

58. Ἐν τούτοις πάλιν ἀπόφασις ἐξήνεκτο παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου, περιέχουσα οὕτως „εἴ τις τῶν συλληφθέντων χρήματά που ταμιευσάμενος ἔχει, παρελθὼν ἐν μέσῳ τούτοις ὠνησάσθω τὴν σωτηρίαν· εἰ δὲ τις μηδὲν ἔχων λύτρον τῆς ἰδίας ζωῆς φωραθεῖ, οὗτος τὴν κεφαλὴν τμηθεὶς
 30 τῶν ζώντων διαιρεθεῖ.“ 2 προσέταττε δὲ τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀκηκοὼς ὥς οὐκ ἂν τινὰ φειδοῦς ἡξίου, ὅτε κατ' ἀρχὰς εἰσήλασαν ἐν τῇ πόλει, εἰ μὴ | που παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐβεβαιοῦντο ἔχειν αὐτοὺς ἐν ἀποκρύφοις χρήματά τινα πᾶσαν δυνάμενα διαφυγεῖν ἔρυναν. 3 ὅσοι δὲ οὖν τῶν ἐαλωκότων ὑπῆρχον ἔχοντες εἶδησιν ἀκριβῆ περὶ ὧν ἦσαν
 35 προκεκρυφότες, εὐθέως ἐκδήλους ἑαυτοὺς καθίστων κατεπείγοντες τὴν δόσιν ὥς τῆς ζωῆς παραιτίαν· 4 ὅσοι δὲ μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ἔχειν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἐπεγίνωσκον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ματαίαις μόνον ἐλπίσι τὰς συνθήκας ἐπλάσαντο, τὴν σφαγὴν ἐξεδέχοντο ἀναμφιβόλως τοῖς ἐνδεῶς ἔχουσι κεκριμένην. 5 τάττονται δὲ οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν βαρβάρων τινές, ὥστε
 40 τοὺς βουλομένους παρέχειν τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀποφέρειν οἰκίαις, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἄξια ἢ πλεονεκτικὸν ὀφθαλμὸν κορέσαι, σωτηρίας τε ἀξιούσθαι τούτους καὶ αὐθις τοῖς δεσμίοις ἐναριθμεῖσθαι, εἰ δ' εὐτελεῖ τινὰ καὶ βραχέα καὶ οἷς οὐκ ἂν κρίνοιν ἐυδοκοῦντα τὸν ἀποστείλαντα, τῆς μαχαίρας γενέσθαι. 6 οὐκ ὀλίγος ἦν ἐκ τούτου πάλιν τοῖς χειρωθεῖσιν ὁ κίνδυνος,
 45 πολλῶν διακρινομένων ἐκ τῶν ἐχόντων ὕλην τινὰ περισπούδαστον. 7 ἐτελεῖτο δὲ ταῦτα ἐφ' ὅλοις νυχθημέροις δέκα, τῆς πληθύος αἰὲ τῶν χρημάτων εὐφορουμένης ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, τῆς τε λοιπῆς ἀναγκαίας ὕλης, ὅση διὰ σπηρικῆς ἐσθῆτος εὐπρεπῆς ἦν καὶ ὅση διὰ λίνου τοῖς ἀραχνεῖσι ἥριζεν ὑφάσμασιν, ὥς ὄρη καὶ βουνούς ἐκτελεῖσθαι τὰς τούτων σωρείας,
 50 ἄλλων ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἐπιτιθεμένων καὶ τὸν ὑποκείμενον τρόπον πληρούντων.

those who were living in the presence of death. But the presence of thirst consumed us no less than the proximity of the sword. Indeed, we were so violently tormented by it that we begged our guards to let us at least take some of the water that was flowing through the place and thereby gain some temporary relief. They agreed to this, not because they entertained any kindly feelings towards us (how could men who dealt in death and revelled in slaughter?) but because that water was made up of the outflow of the entire city's sewers and was capable, without any further contrivance, of proving lethal to whoever drank it. Yet each one of us joyfully put that disgusting filth to his lips as though it were a sweet, pure draught of newly-melted snow and in his imagination took the cup of stinking liquid for a cup filled with honey.

§58. Meanwhile a further decision was issued by the tyrant, to this effect, that 'If any of those who had been apprehended has valuables stored away somewhere, he must come forward and purchase his life with them. But whoever is found to have no means of paying for his life shall have his head chopped off and be separated from the ranks of the living.' He issued this instruction because he had heard from the barbarians that when they first broke into the city they had seen fit to spare nobody except for those from whom they received assurances that they had valuables deposited in secret hiding places and capable of eluding all attempts at detection. All those captives, therefore, who had accurate knowledge of the whereabouts of what they had previously concealed immediately made themselves known in their eagerness to part with their treasure and save their lives. But those who knew full well that they had no such possessions, but had struck a bargain on the basis of wishful thinking and false pretences, awaited the slaughter that had been unambiguously decreed for the indigent. Accordingly, some barbarians were assigned the task of taking back to their homes those who were willing to hand over their possessions, and were instructed that should these be of sufficient value to satisfy a covetous eye, these persons were to be considered worthy of having their lives spared, and of being numbered once more amongst the prisoners. But if their possessions were cheap and paltry and not such as they considered that the man who sent them would approve of, then it was a matter for the sword to deal with. The result of this was the return to a situation of extreme peril for those who had been taken prisoner, since many were eliminated from the category of those whose material possessions were especially sought after. All this went on for ten whole days and ten whole nights with the city yielding an abundant harvest of valuables and of other costly finery, everything in the way of beautiful silk robes and of linen garments whose

8 χαλκῶν γὰρ καὶ σιδηρέων σκευῶν ἢ τῶν ἐξ ἐρίων ἐσθημάτων οὐμενοῦν οὐδ' ὅλως | ἐφρόντισαν, περιττὴν ἡγούμενοι τὴν κτῆσιν αὐτῶν. 9 εἴ που δέ τι τοιοῦτον ἀγαγὼν ἔλαθέ τις, τῷ τῆς θαλάσσης δεδώκασιν ὕδατι, κὰν τούτῳ τοὺς διαδράντας τὸν κίνδυνον ἀμυνόμενοι, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ τι
55 μετέχωσι τοῦ κακοῦ, πολυσχεδῆ καὶ διάφορον τὴν τῶν ἐνυπαρχόντων ζημίαν ἐπαισθανόμενοι.

59. Ἦν δέ τις μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων συλληφθεὶς εὐνοῦχος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἐξόχων εἰς, Ῥοδοφύλης οὕτω καλούμενος, ὃς ἔτυχε πρὸ μικροῦ τοῦ κινδύνου τὴν ἐπὶ δύοσιν σταλὲς καὶ τινων χρεῶν
60 ἔνεκεν πρὸς τῇ πόλει γενόμενος, μεθ' ἡμῶν συγκλεισθῆναι καὶ τῶν ῥηθέντων ἀνιαρῶν μετασχεῖν. 2 ὃς καὶ ἐκόμιζε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ πληθὸς χρυσίου, ὅπερ ἔλεγεν ἀπάγειν ἐπικουρίας τινὸς χάριν τοῦ κατὰ Σικελίαν στρατοῦ, συμπλεκόμενου τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀφρικὴν βαρβάροις αἰ καὶ πολ-
65 λῆς δεομένου τῆς ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι συνεργίας. 3 οὗτος οὖν κατὰ τὴν νύκτα μεθ' ἣν τοῦ κινδύνου τὴν πείραν ἅπαντες ἐδεξάμεθα, ἔλαθεν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐξενεγκεῖν τῆς πόλεως τὸ χρυσίον ἐκεῖνο μετὰ καὶ τινων τῶν ὑπηρετουμένων αὐτῷ, καὶ πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν Στρυμόνος ἐξαποστεῖλαι, χαράξας ἐπιστολὴν περιέχουσαν ἀσφαλῶς φυλάττειν τοῦτο μέχρι τῆς ἐκβάσεως τοῦ πολέμου. 4 χειρωθεὶς οὖν οὗτος ἤχθη κατὰ πρόσωπον
70 τοῦ τυράννου. ὁ δὲ τὴν μορφήν ἀλλοιώσας, ἐμβριθέστερόν τε μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον εἶχε πρὸς αὐτὸν χρησάμενος, ἀνηρώτα. 5 „ποῦ δὴ“ φησι „τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως χρυσίον, τὰ δύο τάλαντα ἅπερ ἐπὶ Σικελίαν ἄγειν ἐτάχθης; 6 ὁ δὲ „τοῦτο δὴ“ | φησιν, „εἰς ὅπερ κατείλημμαι δεδιώς, τὴν πολιορκίαν λέγω τῆς πόλεως, ἐπεὶπερ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ δεῦρο τυχῶν ἀδυνάτως
75 εἶχον τοσοῦτου κινδύνου παρόντος ὑποχωρεῖν καὶ μὴ τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δεικνύναι, πάντων εἰς ἐμὲ βλεπόντων ὡς ἂν τι χρηστὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ χρήσιμον δυνάμενος παρασχεῖν, τούτου δὴ χάριν τὸ μὲν χρυσίον ἐκεῖνο τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξήγαγον (οὐ γὰρ ἐδυνάμην ἀκριβῶς περὶ ἀδελῶν στο-
80 χρημάτων παραίτιος, εἴ γε ζῶντά με καὶ ἀβλαβῆ συντηρήσειας.“ 7 ἀχθεσθεὶς οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ ἀλαζὼν ἐκεῖνος καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ὁποῖος αὐτὸν εἶχε διὰ τε τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ τῆς φωνῆς ἐκδηλον παραστήσας βύθιον ἐξεβόησεν. 8 „ἐπειδὴ περ“ φησὶν „οὐκ ἔμαθεν ἐκ τῶν προκειμένων ἀδιάδραστον εἶναι τὴν τοῦ θανάτου ψῆφον τοῖς μὴ τὰ οἰκεῖα χρήματα
85 λύτρον παρεχομένοις ὁ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος οὗτος, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἐπίδειξιν ποιεῖται, τὸ πλάσμα τοῦ ψεύδους μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν οἶον κατὰ

fabrics rivalled those of silk, so that these objects were piled up on top of one another till they lay in heaps as big as mountains and covered all the ground beneath them. On the other hand they set no store by bronze and iron utensils or woollen garments, and thought it pointless to own such things. In fact, if anyone had managed so far to bring some such object unnoticed they invariably threw it into the sea. Even in this respect they punished those who had escaped with their lives, in order to ensure that they too should continue to have at least some share in the general misfortune and be made to feel the full extent and variety of their material losses.

§59. Along with the remaining crowd of prisoners a certain eunuch of the emperor; had been captured. He was an important personage by the name of Rhodophyles,¹⁰⁹ who had been sent to the west on official business shortly before the catastrophe, and had been obliged through some compelling necessity to stay in the city, with the result that he was caught up with us in the siege and its attendant misfortunes. He brought a great quantity of gold with him, which he said that he was taking to help the army in Sicily, which was engaged in a constant struggle against the barbarians in Africa and was in need of substantial practical support. On the night before we had our first taste of disaster, he managed somehow with the help of some of his servants to smuggle the gold out of the city and to send it to the strategos of Strymon together with a letter instructing him to keep it safe until the end of the war. Now he was seized and brought before the tyrant. The latter assumed an altered countenance and questioned him with an air of greater severity than before. 'Where is the emperor's gold?' he said, 'the two talents which you were ordered to take to Sicily?' Rhodophyles replied, 'Fearing that I might be caught up in what in fact took place, namely the siege of the city, and since I could not, once I was here, retire in the face of a peril of such magnitude and fail to show my hand when everyone was looking to me as the one who could help them in their hour of need, I had the gold secretly removed from the city. After all, I had no way of telling how things would turn out. Today I stand before you as a prisoner, a source of many other valuable things, should you keep me alive and unharmed' But the villain flew into a rage at these words, and revealing his fury through his eyes and his voice, he let out a deep bellow. 'Since this inhabitant of the women's quarters,' he said, 'has not learned from what has been clearly stated, namely, that there can be no escape from the sentence of death for those who fail to provide their own valuables as ransom money, but is instead putting on some kind of theatrical performance and producing an amazing tissue of lies in order to protect his

τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προβαλλόμενος σωτηρίας, ῥάβδοις τυπτέσθω τά τε ἰσχύια καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν νῶτον μέρη, ὡς ἂν ἄρτι γινῶ πρῶτον τίνι παρίσταται καὶ περὶ τίνων διαλέγεται, καὶ μὴ χρημάτων ἀλλοτρίων ἀμφισβητῶν τὸν
 90 περὶ ψυχῆς ἑαυτῷ περιποιεῖται κίνδυνον.“ 9 οἱ λειτουργοὶ οὖν τῶν ἀδίκων φόνων, ὡς μόνον εἶδον αὐτὸν μεθ’ ὑποσυρμοῦ φωνῆς καὶ μανίας τὴν τοιαύτην ψῆφον κατὰ τοῦ ἐστῶτος ἐξενεγκάμενον, θᾶπτον λόγου παντὸς τῇ γῇ | τοῦτον προσέρραξαν, καὶ τοσαύταις βάλλουσι πληγαῖς ὡς μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντισχεῖν τοῦ ἀθλίου τὸ σῶμα ἀλλ’ εἰς πολλὰ διαιρεθέν,
 95 καὶ τοῖς ὀχετοῖς τῶν αἱμάτων τὸν ὑποκείμενον τόπον πληρῶσαν, οὕτως τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπαφεῖναι, καρτερεῖν ταῖς δριμείαις ἐκείναις ἀλγηδόσιν οὐκ ἐξισχύσασαν. 10 ὡς οὖν ἀπείρηκε καὶ δῆλος ἦν τοῖς ὤμοις ἐκείνοις δορυφόροις, ἔτι τὰς πληγὰς ἀφιεῖσι καὶ μετὰ θάνατον, μόλις ποτὲ τῆς κατεχούσης ἑαυτὸν ὀργῆς περιάρας ὁ δυσέντευκτος θήρ „ἔστω“ φησὶ
 5 „μετὰ τοῦ χρυσίου ἐκείνου καὶ οὗτος εἰς ἀπώλειαν· ἀλυσιτελὲς γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ εὐρεθὲν ἂν διεδείκνυτο.“

60. Τοῖς δὲ τῶν νηῶν ἀρχηγοῖς προσέταττε σκευάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἀπόπλουν, τὴν νεάζουσιν κήραν τοῦ πλήθους ἀρρένων τε καὶ θηλειῶν πρῶτον ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰσενεγκόντας, μὴ κατὰ συγγένειαν ἀλλὰ διακεκρι-
 10 μένως, ἵν’ ἔχωσι κὰν τούτῳ τιμωρίαν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν, τὴν φυσικὴν ἐξ ἀλλήλων διαίρεσιν, εἴθ’ οὕτω τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τῶν συνειλεγ- μένων φανεῖεν χρήσιμα, συμφορήσαντας αὐτάρκη ταῖς ναυσὶ τῶν ἀγω- γίμων ἐμποιῆσαι τὸν φόρτον. 2 ἦγετο οὖν τὸ νεάζον πρόσωπον ἅπαν, τοῦτο μόνον κατηγορίαν ἔχον, τὸ ἀνθηρὸν τῆς ἡλικίας ἢ τῶν προσώπων
 15 τὴν ὥραιότητα. 3 κὰν γὰρ ἡ σύγχυσις τῶν λυπηρῶν ἅπαντας πρὸς τὸ σκυθρωπὸν ἦγεν, ἀλλ’ ὁ φυσικὸς χαρακτήρ ἐδήλου ταῖς ὄψεσι τὴν εὐγένειαν· καὶ πρόφασις ἦν τοῖς πολλοῖς τὸ κάλλος, ἐν τοῖς δειλνοῖς αὐτοὺς προδιδόμενον. 4 ἀλλὰ ποῖον τούτων πρῶτον ἐξεῖπω; ποῖον δὲ κατ’ ἀξίαν ἐλεεινότερον κρινῶ; 5 ὁπότε συμμιγῆς τις καὶ σφοδρὸς ἀνήγερτο
 20 θρῆνος διχοτομουμένης τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλήλους τοὺς ἀγχιστεῖς ἀνακαλου- μένους καὶ τὸν χωρισμὸν δυσχεραίνοντας. 6 καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἰδεῖν τοὺς τῷ πάθει συγκεχυμένους, ἀνδρας γυναῖκας, ἀκμάζοντας παῖδας, ὁμοῦ πάντας δεινὸν ἀλαλάζοντας καὶ ἑαυτοὺς διαρρηγνύνοντας, καὶ μηκέτι κατέχειν τὴν ἀθυμίαν τῶν τοσούτων ὀχληρῶν ἐξισχύοντας, ἀλλὰ δηλοῦντας ταῖς
 25 οἰμωγαῖς τὴν ἔνδον τῆς καρδίας διάθεσιν, ὡς ἅπασα καταπίμπραται τῶν πειρασμῶν ταῖς φλογώσεσιν. 7 ὡς γὰρ βιαίως οὕτως ἐξ ἀλλήλων διαιρεθέντες φύρδην ταῖς ὀλκάσιν εἰσῆχθησαν, εὐρείαις τε οὔσαις καὶ ἱκαναῖς πλήθεσι πολλοῖς ἐξαρκεῖν, οὐ κατὰστοιχα, οὐδ’ ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι, ἐν αὐτάρκει τόπῳ τοῦ σωματικοῦ ὄγκου τῶν εἰσελθόντων ἕκαστος τὴν
 30 καθέδραν ἐλάμβανε, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἅπαξ κατενεχθεῖς, τοῦτο μόνον

own life, let him be beaten on the thighs and the back so that he may now learn in whose presence he stands and what he is talking about, and not try to secure his own survival by laying claim to somebody else's money.' As soon as the bloodthirsty minions of indiscriminate slaughter divined from his spluttered expressions of rage the nature of the verdict issued against the standing figure, they dashed their hapless victim to the ground in less time that it takes to say a single word and beat him with such fury that his body did not long remain in one piece but was torn asunder in many places and flooded the ground with streams of blood. Such refinements of torture were more than flesh and blood could endure and he gave up the ghost. When he was completely lifeless and was seen to be so by those brutal underlings, even though they kept on lashing him after he was dead, the disgusting beast, barely curbing at last the savage fury that possessed him, said, 'Let him go to hell along with that famous gold! Much good it would do him now, even if it were found!'

§60. He ordered the captains of the ships to make preparations for the departure. They were to embark first the young people of both sexes, not keeping those who were related together but splitting them up so that in this matter too they should suffer, in terms of physical separation, no ordinary punishment. After that, they were to put on board the valuables and any other objects they had collected that appeared to be useful and to fill the ships with an adequate amount of cargo. So all the young were led away, their only crime being the bloom of youth and the beauty of their faces. For even though sadness and confusion could be read on every face, their features equally displayed their innate nobility and good breeding; indeed for many it was their beauty that had provided the pretext which delivered them to disaster. But which of these things shall I relate first? Which incident shall I single out as having a better claim on one's sympathy, when one confused and universal cry of lamentation rose to such a climax as all natural ties were severed and close relatives called out to one another and voiced their indignation at being parted? One could see the frenzied victims of misfortune, men, women, youths, children letting out terrible screams and tearing at themselves, no longer able to put on a brave face at the hopeless anguish that enveloped them but giving vent at last with cries of pain to the burning grief that seared their souls. Thus were they forcibly separated and herded on to the ships, which were large enough to hold great numbers of people. But they embarked in no proper order, with the result that individuals did not come to occupy sufficient space for the size of their

ἀπεκεκλήρωτο, μὴ δυνηθεῖς ἐν ὄλαις ταῖς ἐφεξῆς ἡμέραις ἕως μιᾶς παλαι-
στῆς τόπον ἐφευρεῖν, ἵν' ἀνακλιθεῖς ἀνάπαυσιν δῶ κἂν βραχεῖαν τῷ
σώματι.

61. Πᾶσαι δὲ αἱ νῆες τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ πεπλήρωντο· τέτταρες γὰρ
35 οὔσαι, καθὼς ἔφαμεν, καὶ πεντήκοντα. 2 ἔτι δὲ πλῆθος ἦν περιττεῦον,
ἄξιον καὶ αὐτὸ κρινόμενον τῆς ἀποδημίας. 3 οἱ οὖν βάρβαροι συναγα-
γόντες τὰς νῆας τῆς πόλεως, αἷς ἐχρῶντό ποτε πρὸς τὸ τὸν σῆτον ἐπι-
κομίζεῖν οἱ | καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔμποροι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὅς ἤμεν βυθίσαντες κατὰ τοῦ
πορθμοῦ τοῦ λιμένος σοφίσματί τινι ἀνελκύσαντες (ὁ καὶ ἐνήργησαν διὰ
40 τινων στροφίγγων τοῖς ἐκεῖσε προβόλοις ἐπιτετηδευμένων καὶ τὴν
ἐπίνοιαν ἐργῶδη δεικνύντων, ἐλισσομένων τινὶ τεχνάσματι καὶ διὰ τῶν
ἀπηλωμένων κάλων ἀνελκύνοντων τὸ ὑποκείμενον), οὕτως οὖν καὶ
ἄλλων νηῶν πληθύν εὐπορήσαντες εἰσεκόμισαν ἅπαντας, ὡς μηδένα
πώποτε τῶν εἰς τοῦτο τεταγμένων παραλειφθῆναι. 4 ἐξ ὧν ἀπάντων
45 οὐκ οἶδα εἴ πού τις τῶν ἀρρένων τὸν Ἰουλον ἐτετρίχωτο ἢ κἂν μία τῶν
γυναικῶν ἦβασκεν. 5 πάντες δὲ καὶ πᾶσαι νέαν ἤγον τὴν ἡλικίαν, καὶ
τούτων μάλιστα τὰ ἀρτιγενῆ βρέφη· οὓς ἂν τις καθ' ἓνα λογιζόμενος
κατεκλᾶτο, μὴ σθένων ὀρᾶν τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἀτυχήματα.

62. Καθ' ἡμῶν δὲ τῶν κατὰ διαφόρους αἰτίας ἐκφυγόντων τὸ ξίφος
50 ἐκηρύχθη τοιαύτη παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου καὶ αὐθις ἀπόφασις, ὥστε τοὺς
μὲν ἐξ ἡμῶν, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσους ἔδοξε τὰ τοῦ πλοὸς ἐγκαρτερῆσαι δυναμέ-
νους ἐπίποναι, μετ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν στρατηγῶν διαιρεθέντας εἰσελθεῖν
ἀνὰ πέντε ἐφ' ἑκάστης τῶν βαρβαρικῶν νηῶν, τηρεῖσθαι τε χάριν τοῦ πρὸς
τὴν Ταρσὸν διαπεμφθῆναι λόγῳ τῆς εἰρημένης καταλλαγῆς. 2 τοὺς
55 λοιποὺς δέ, ὡς μηδὲν τι χρηστὸν αὐτοῖς δυναμένους πορίζειν, εἴ γε τῆς
ἀποδημίας κατάσχωσι, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀνωφελῆ φόρτον αὐτοὺς
ἐπισύρεσθαι, ἔδοξεν ἐπαφεῖναι τῇ πόλει, οὐδὲ τοῦτο φειδοῦς | τινος
ἔνεκεν, οὐδ' ὅτι τῷ θεῷ παρείχε, καθὼς τινες τοὺς βαρβάρους πράττειν
ἀλόγως φιλονεικοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τινος μεθόδου καὶ μοχθηρᾶς
60 ἐπινοίας, ἵν' ἐν μηδενὶ φανείη τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀσυντελής, ᾧ μὴ κέρδος
ἐαυτῷ συμπορίσοιτο! 3 ἀκριβῶς γὰρ εἰδὼς ὡς μετὰ μικρὸν ἔσεσθαι
μέλλει τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἢ διὰ τῆς καταλλαγῆς ἀπολύτρωσις, ἐσοφίσατο
μηδὲ τούτους εἰκῇ καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐλευθερίας τυχεῖν. 4 καὶ σκόπει τὸ
πανοῦργον τοῦ δράματος! 5 ἐρχομένοις γάρ τισι μετὰ τὸ τὴν πόλιν
65 ἀλῶναι, τοῖς ὁπωσδηποτοῦν διαδρᾶσι, καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους αἰχμαλώτους

bodies, but each person had allotted him whatever bit of space he had first staggered into and during all the following days was unable to find, if only for a moment, an inch of room to rest his body.

§61. In this way all the ships (fifty-four of them in all as I pointed out)¹¹⁰ were loaded up. But there was still a large number of people left over who had also been designated for transportation. Accordingly, the barbarians got together the ships belonging to the city, which our merchants occasionally used for importing grain in, and also those which we had sunk at the entrance to the harbour,¹¹¹ hauling these latter up with the aid of an ingenious contrivance worked by windlasses which were fitted to the ramparts and made to revolve and draw up by means of suspended cables the sunken hull. In this way, therefore, they created a considerable number of additional ships¹¹² and embarked everybody, so that no one for whom transportation had been intended was in fact left out. And out of all this crowd I doubt there was even one boy who had grown his first beard or one girl who was really a woman. They were all of tender age whatever their sex, and the youngest of them were mere babes. It was impossible for anyone who paused to consider them individually not to break down at the sight of their misfortune.

§62. With regard to those of us who had, for various reasons, escaped the sword a further decree was issued by the tyrant to the effect that some of us, especially those who seemed strong enough to endure the rigours of the voyage, should go along with the generals¹¹³ to be distributed and embarked at the rate of five for each barbarian ship and then held prisoner with a view to being sent to Tarsos under the terms for the exchange of prisoners already mentioned. The others, whose forced removal would serve the barbarians no useful purpose but would be tantamount to dragging around a useless burden, would, it was decided, be set at liberty and sent back to the city. This was not some philanthropic measure or some such act of devotion as certain people quite unjustifiably maintain that the barbarians perform, but a base and calculating move aimed at ensuring that in no transaction should he be seen to have failed to extract some personal advantage! He knew in fact that there would shortly be a general release and exchange of prisoners and so applied his mind to preventing them from gaining their freedom casually and without further ado. But just consider the vileness and dishonesty of his action! After the capture of the city, certain inhabitants, who had managed somehow to escape, came to ransom their

ώνουμένοις, συνείπετο μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ τις ἀνὴρ καλούμενος Συμεών, φρονήσει βεβηκώς καὶ διὰ πείρας ὧν πολλῶν πραγμάτων, ὃς ἦν πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως σταλείς δι' αἰτίαν τινὰ χρειώδη πρὸ μικροῦ τῇ πόλει, περὶ ἧς νῦν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν. 6 τούτοις οὖν καθ' ἐκάστην μέχρι τῶν 70 ἡμερῶν τοῦ ἀπόπλου συχνῶς ἐρχομένοις ἀνεκοίνωσε τὴν κατὰ τῶν εἰρημένων βουλὴν ὁ δεινὸς οὗτος Λέων, εἰπὼν πρὸς αὐτούς:

63. „Ὡς ἐγὼ ἀπεχθῶς“ φησι „φερόμενος ἐξ ἀρχῆς καθ' ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔκρινον ζῶσαι τῶν ἀλόντων οὐδένα· τίς γὰρ ἐκ θεοῦ μισθὸς πολεμίοις ἀνδράσιν ἐν καιρῷ νίκης τὸν θάνατον συγχωρεῖν, ὃν αὐτοὶ μᾶλλον 75 ἐτέκταινον καθ' ἡμῶν; 2 ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ χρεῖα τίς ἐπείγει, καθ' ἣν ἐστὶν ἐπάναγκες ζῶσθαι τούτους, εἴπερ αἰσίου τύχοι τοῦ πέρατος, περὶ τούτου καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ὑμεῖς σκέψασθε. 3 ἐπείγομαι γὰρ ἤδη τοῦ καιροῦ με καλοῦντος πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀποπλεῖν πατρίδα. 4 δύνασθε οὖν ἀντι-ποι|θῆναι τούτων ὄντων διακοσίων τὸν ἀριθμὸν δι' ἐγγράφου ἐγγύης, 80 ὡς λαβεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς καταλλαγῆς ἰσαριθμούς Ἀγαρηνοὺς, πείσαι τε τὸν κρατοῦντα τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὰ σκῆπτρα μηδε-μίαν περὶ τούτου ἀμφιβολίαν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ συνθέσθαι τοῖς ὑφ' ὑμῶν πεπραγμένοις; 5 ἡ δεδίπτεσθε μὲν τὴν ἐγγύην ὡς μὴ ἐν ὑμῖν κειμένην, ἄδηλον ὃν ἡ παραδεχθήσεται ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἡ μὴ, ἐν οὐδενὶ δὲ τίθετε 85 τοσοῦτον κακόν, μικρᾶς προθυμίας μέγαν προξενοῦντες τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις τὸν ὄλεθρον; 6 εἴπατε οὖν ὁποτέρῳ τούτων στοιχεῖτε, ἵν' ἐνὶ γε τὴν ψῆφον δῶμεν, ἡ τοῦ ζῶσαι ἡ τοῦ ἀπαλλάξαι αὐτούς.“ 7 ὁ οὖν ῥηθεὶς Συμεών, ὅτε δὴ τῶν ἄλλων προέχων, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη „ἐγὼ ταύτην τὴν ἐγγύην μόνος κατεγγυῶμαι, σαφῶς εἰδὼς τὸ περὶ πάντα φιλάνθρωπον 90 τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοκράτορος, καὶ ὡς δίχα λόγου παντὸς παρέξεται τούτων ἐνεκεν, ἐξ ὧν ἔχει δεσμίων Ἀγαρηνῶν, τοσούτους ὅσοι καὶ οὗτοι τυγ-χάνουσιν ὄντες.“ 8 οὗς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ τῇ Ταρσῷ διακομίσω, ἵν' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ πάλιν τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐγγύης λυθῇ καὶ μηδὲν ἔχῃς κατ' ἐμοῦ προφέρειν, ἐπὶ τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἐκπληρώσω. 9 μόνον τύχωσι κἄν οὗτοί τινος σωτηρίας, 95 ἵνα συλλέξαντες ταφῇ δώσι τῶν ἀποικομένων τὰ σώματα, ἃ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως κείμενα καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἀέρα πρὸς θρῆνον ἐφέλκεται.“ 10 ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ κακοήθης ἐκείνος, ἐγγραφόν τε πείσας τὸν αὐτὸν Συμεών καὶ ἐνώμοτον παρασχεῖν τὸν περὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν τούτων λόγον, ἀπολυ-θῆναι | πάντας ἐκείνους τοὺς ἐξ ἡμῶν περιττεύσαντας ἄνδρας ἐπέ- 5 τρεψεν.

relatives. With them was a man called Symeon, a person of sound judgment and vast experience, who had been sent shortly before by the emperor on urgent business, the nature of which need not detain us here. To these people, who kept coming every day right up to the time of our departure, this fearsome man Leo communicated in no uncertain terms what he had in mind concerning the fate of the aforesaid persons:

§63. 'Since I felt nothing but hatred towards you from the start,' he said, 'I decided not to leave any of those taken prisoner alive. What reward is there from God for failing to inflict on one's enemies in time of victory the death which they themselves were planning to inflict on us? But since it is now a matter of urgency that these men be allowed to live, provided that such a course elicits a positive response, you should give this proposition careful consideration, for I am pressed for time and should already be setting sail for home. Are you empowered to claim the lives of these two hundred people by means of a written guarantee to the effect that when the exchange of prisoners takes place we shall receive in exchange for them the same number of Hagarenes and that you will persuade the ruler of the Roman world not to have second thoughts on this matter but to abide by the agreement entered into by you? Or are you afraid that it might not lie in your power to make such an undertaking, on the grounds that it is uncertain whether or not the emperor will accede to such an arrangement and are you thus prepared to turn a blind eye to so great a disaster, and through your own faintheartedness procure the wholesale destruction of your own kith and kin? Say, therefore, which of these propositions you assent to, so that we can deliver a verdict one way or the other, either to let them live or to make them die!' Then Symeon, who has already been mentioned, took it upon himself in virtue of his pre-eminent status to say in reply to him: 'I am prepared to take sole responsibility for making this guarantee. I am well acquainted with our emperor's benevolence and humanity in all matters and I know that he will have no hesitation in matching their numbers and in handing over on their account exactly the same number of Hagarenes from among his prisoners. I shall bring them to Tarsos personally, in order to ensure that my side of the undertaking is strictly adhered to, and that you have nothing to reproach me with once I have discharged my obligations in full. Only let these people here be afforded some degree of safety, so that they may collect and give a decent burial to the bodies of their dead, which lie scattered all over the city and move the very air to tears.' Hearing these words, the malicious creature persuaded Symeon to draw up a sworn undertaking regarding the terms of this agreement and gave orders for all those of us who were not needed to be freed.

64. Ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τούτου καλῶς εἶχεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ ἦν τὸ πανούργευμα, ἕτερον πάλιν οὐκ ἔλαττον τούτου τῇ δολιότητι τῶν φρενῶν ἐπενόησε. 2 πυρποληθῆναι γὰρ ἅπασαν τὴν πόλιν προσέταττεν, ἵν' ἡ καὶ τοῦτο αὐτῷ οὐ τὸ τυχὸν παρεμπόρευμα· 3 ἦδει γὰρ ὡς οἱ 10 τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὠνούμενοι οὐδὲ τοῦτο πράττειν αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀνάσχοιντο, αἰρούμενοι μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους καταπρησθῆναι ἢ τοιοῦτόν τι κἂν ἀκοῇ παραδέξασθαι. 4 μήπω γὰρ τῶν βαρβάρων διὰ μέσου τῆς πόλεως τὴν φλόγα διασπειράντων, ἀλλ' ἐτι τὰς πλησιαζούσας τῇ θαλάσῃ πυρπολούντων οἰκίας, μόνον ὅτι πρὸς τὸ καταβάλλειν τὰς 15 ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τιμὰς οἱ παρόντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐκύρωσαν, καὶ πάλιν πρόσταγμα πανταχοῦ διεπέμπετο παύεσθαι τῆς οἰκείας συνεργίας τὸ πῦρ, ὡς εἰς χρηστὸν αὐτῷ πέρασ καὶ ταύτης προελθούσης τῆς ἐπινοίας. 5 οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες ἐκείνοι σὺν τῷ ῥηθέντι Συμεῶν, μὴ ἔχοντες ἄλλοθεν ποθεν καταβάλλεσθαι τὴν περὶ τούτου ποσότητα, τὰ δύο ὑπέσχοντο 20 τοῦ χρυσίου τάλαντα ἅπερ ἦν ὁ θανῶν ἐκ τῶν ῥοπάλων εὐνοῦχος πρὸς τὸν Στρυμόνα ἐξαποστείλας· 6 ἃ καὶ θᾶττον ἀγαγόντες διὰ τινων ταχυδρόμων, ὅθεν ἐκρύπτοντο, καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐναριθμήσαντες, οὕτως τὴν πόλιν τῆς πυρκαϊᾶς διεσώσαντο.

65. Ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ τοῦτο πέρασ εἰλήφει, καὶ οὐκ ἐνέλιπεν οὐδὲν ὃ 25 τοῖς ἀκορέστοις ἐκείνοις ὀφθαλμοῖς ὑπόθεσις χρυσίου | μὴ ἐγεγονέι, ἔδει δὲ μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺ καρτερεῖν τῷ τόπῳ, ἀλλὰ φροντίζειν καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν συμπτωμάτων μᾶλλον τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ τοῖς πλωτῆρσιν ἐγγινομένων, τότε δὴ περὶ μεσημβρίαν ὄντος τοῦ ἡλίου τῇ δεκάτῃ τῆς ἀλώσεως ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ λιμένος ἐξωρμήσαμεν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ῥηθεῖσαν Ῥωμαίαν πύλην 30 μετήχθημεν, τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκεῖσε τελέσαντες τῆς ἡμέρας. 2 ἦμεν οὖν ἡμεῖς οἱ πέντε, καθὼς ἐχειρώθημεν, εἰς τινα ναῦν τοῦ ἀρχηγοῦ τοῦ κατ' Αἴγυπτον στόλου, οὗ καὶ προσδεηθεῖς ἦν ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ διὰ τινος ἐρμηνέως (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦδει λαλεῖν καθ' ἡμᾶς) προστάξαι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν δορυφόροις ἀγαγεῖν ὅθεν ἂν ἦσαν διασπαρέντες οἱ κατὰ συγγένειαν ἡμῖν πλησιά- 35 ζοντες. 3 ὃ δὴ καὶ παρὰ μικρὸν ἐτελεῖτο ἂν, εἰ μὴ κἂν τούτῳ παρεμποδὼν γέγονε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἡμετέρων κακῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἔρευναν ἀποκνηῖσαι τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους πεποίηκε. 4 τὴν γὰρ μητέρα τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀδελφῶν ἓνα, τῶν μὴ κατ' ἀρχὰς μεθ' ἡμῶν ληφθέντων, ἐτι δὲ καὶ τὴν τᾶδελφοῦ γαμετὴν τὸ τάχος, ὅθεν ὑπῆρχον, πρὸς ἡμᾶς 40 ἡγάγοντο· 5 τὴν ὁμόζυγα δὲ τὴν ἐμὴν σὺν τρισὶ νηπίοις καὶ τὴν

§64. Once this matter too had been arranged to his satisfaction, and his unscrupulous scheme had been safely accomplished, he devised another plan no less cunning and no less unscrupulous. He gave orders for the entire city to be set on fire, hoping that this move also might redound to his own not inconsiderable financial gain. He knew full well that those who had tried to ransom the prisoners would not simply acquiesce in this action either, but would sooner be burned themselves than even hear of such a thing. And in fact the barbarians had not yet set fire to the centre of the city but were still burning down those houses that were close to the sea, when those who were on the spot arranged among themselves to pay the money demanded for the city's protection. Whereupon instructions were issued everywhere to prevent the fire from spreading any further, in view of the fact that this scheme too had produced the desired effect.

The citizens, together with Symeon, who has been mentioned previously, having there and then no other means of coming up with the required sum of money, promised to pay the two gold talents which the eunuch who had been clubbed to death had sent to Strymon.¹¹⁴ With the aid of couriers they speedily recovered the two talents from their place of concealment, paid the full amount to the barbarians and thus saved the city from destruction by fire.

§65. Then, when this matter too had been concluded and no object capable of being converted into money remained for his insatiable eyes to covet and there was no point in staying on much longer and a definite need to take into account the weather conditions which at this time of year are particularly conducive to navigation, we set out from the harbour towards midday on the tenth day after the capture of the city¹¹⁵ and made our way to the so-called Rome Gate, where we spent the rest of the day.

The five of us were together, just as we had been taken prisoner, and were now on board a ship belonging to the commander of the Egyptian fleet.¹¹⁶ My father had asked him by means of an interpreter, since he could not even speak our language, to tell his soldiers to bring our relatives from the various locations to which they had been dispersed. This request was very nearly fulfilled and would have been, had not the multitude of our transgressions proved an obstacle even in this matter and caused those who had been sent to hesitate. In fact they brought back quickly, from wherever they happened to be, my mother and one of my other brothers, who had not been captured at the outset together with us, and also my brother's wife. But my wife, along with my three small children and our youngest sister,

ὑποβεβηκυῖαν κατὰ τὴν γέννησιν ἡμῶν ἀδελφὴν μετὰ καὶ ἄλλου πλήθους τῶν προσηκόντων οὔτε ἀνευρεῖν ἠθέλησαν, οὔτε δὲ ἀνευρόντες ἴσως ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐβουλήθησαν, ἀλλ' ἦσαν ἄλλος ἄλλαχῇ τῷ κοινῷ πάθει καὶ ταῖς νιφάσι τῆς ἐξ ἡμῶν βαλλόμενοι διαιρέσεως. 6 ὁμως ἐκαρτεροῦμεν ὡς
 45 ἐν δεινοῖς καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀλλήλων κατατομήν, εἰ καὶ ὅτι παντὸς ἀνιαροῦ πείραν τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπερέβαλλεν. |

66. Ἦδη δὲ τοῦ πλοὸς ἄρχεσθαι μέλλουσι στρέβλας τινὰς τοῖς ποσὶ παῖσιν ἡμῖν ἐπιθέντες οἱ βάρβαροι, οὕτως καθ' ἓνα ταῖς ναυσὶν ὥσπερ ἄψυχόν τινα διεστοίβασαν ὕλην, μὴ ἐνδιδόντες κἄν ἐλεύθερον ἀναπνεῖν
 50 τὸν ἀέρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον τῇ συνεχείᾳ τοῦ πνιγμοῦ συναπείργοντες. 2 οὕτω γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐπισυνῆψαν ὡς ἐν ἀδιάσπαστον ὁρᾶσθαι σῶμα τὴν πληθύν ἄπασαν, μὴδ' ὅλως δισταμένην ἢ ἀπερρηγμένην τῆς συνεχοῦς ἐκείνης πιλήσεως. 3 ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ κατὰ δύσιν ὁ ἥλιος ἦν καὶ πρὸς τὸν νυκτερινὸν γνόφον ἔλγε τὸ φῶς τῆς ἡμέρας, ἐπινίκιον τι μέλος
 55 τοῖς τε κυμβάλοις καὶ τυμπάνοις ἀποκρουσάμενοι, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἀέρα ταῖς διὰ τῶν ξιφῶν ῥιπίσεσι περιστράψαντες, οὕτως μετὰ βαθεῖαν ἐσπέραν ἄσημόν τινα καὶ τραχὺν ἀλαλαγμὸν ἐπαφέντες καὶ τὰς ἀγκύρας τῶν νηῶν ἀνασπάσαντες τῆς γῆς ἀπεδίδρασκον. 4 ἦν δὲ ἀκούειν ὅπως ἡσυχῇ μόνον τὸ πλῆθος κατεστενάζομεν τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ πού
 60 τινα πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ ἀφανεί τῆς ψυχῆς ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἠφίει φωνήν, ὅσοις ἂν αὐτὸς βούλοιτο, παιδευτικοῖς πειρασμοῖς ὁμιλήσαντας καὶ πάλιν ἀποδοθῆναι τῇ θρεψαμένῃ καὶ μὴ εἰς τέλος ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ἀνέλπιστον ἔχειν τὴν ἐκ τῶν λυπούντων ἀπαλλαγὴν.

67. Ὡς δὲ τοῦ πλείν ἤδη πρὸς ὀρθρον οὔσης τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπηρξάμεθα,
 65 εἶχε μὲν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἄλλων δυσχερῶν ἀνάγκη πολλῶν, τοῦ λιμοῦ, τῆς δίψης, τῆς συνεχείας ὁ ὑπωπιασμός (καὶ γὰρ κατὰ μόνην τὴν ναῦν ἔνθα ἡμεῖς ὀκτακοσίων αἰχμαλώτων | ψυχῶν ἀριθμὸς ἦν, δίχρα τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ βαρβάρων, διακοσίων καὶ αὐτῶν ὄντων), πρὸς τοῦτοις δὲ καὶ τῶν κομιδῇ νηπίων ἢ ἐλεεινῇ βοῇ μηδαμῶς δυναμένων φέρειν τῶν μοχθηρῶν
 70 τὴν ἐπίτασιν, ἀλλὰ θάνατον αὐτοῖς ἐπισπεύδουσιν ἄωρον. 2 πλείω δὲ πάντων ἢ κατὰ τὴν γαστέρα χρεῖα, ἥς οὐκ ἦν οὐδεμίαν μέθοδον ἐφευρεῖν, τῆς φυσικῆς ἀνάγκης κατεπειγούσης πρὸς τὴν διέξοδον. 3 τὴν γὰρ αἰδῶ τοῦ πράγματος πολλοὶ προτιμῶντες καὶ καρτερεῖν τὴν βίαν μὴ σθένοντες συχνῶς ἐκινδύνουν. 4 πλήν τῆς ἡμέρας ἀρχομένης τὸν
 75 ἀγκῶνα παραπλεύσαντες τοῦ προρρηθέντος Ἐκβόλου, κατήχθημεν περὶ δέιλαν βαθεῖαν εἰς τινα τόπον Βολβὸν καλούμενον, ἐνθα τινὲς ἱππεῖς

together with a large number of other relatives, they either did not find or, if they did find them, they were unwilling to bring them to us. Instead of this they languished, some in one place some in another, struck down by the shafts of common misfortune and buffeted by the chill wind of their separation from us. Nevertheless, we bore with patience, as being part and parcel of a disastrous situation, even our mutual separation, despite the fact that our plight was painful beyond all past experience of pain.

§66. When we were about to set sail, the barbarians put leg irons on all of us and stuffed and crammed each and every one into the ships for all the world like some piece of inanimate matter, not even allowing us to breath the air freely but curtailing its circulation through sheer congestion and over crowding. They packed us in together so close to one another, so tightly pressed and so relentlessly squeezed that the entire multitude presented the single aspect of one continuous body. But when the sun had set and the light of day ceased at the approach of night's darkness they struck up a song of victory on drums and cymbals, caused the air above their heads to flash with the whirling lightning of their brandished swords and continued in this vein until late evening had passed, when they let out a harsh and unintelligible cry, weighed anchor and put out to sea. One could hear how most of us were quietly bemoaning our native city and sense vaguely how in the privacy of his soul each one of us was crying out to God and imploring Him that, after we had undergone whatever trials and tribulation He wished to chastise us with, we might once more be restored to the city that had nurtured us and not be left finally abandoned without any hope of release from our afflictions.

§67. The night was already advancing towards daybreak when we set sail.¹¹⁷ We were afflicted by many other unpleasant forms of constraint such as hunger and thirst and were black and blue from the overcrowding (on the one ship alone on which we were aboard there were eight hundred prisoners quite apart from the barbarians, who numbered another two hundred) on top of which there were the pitiful cries of infants unable to bear the full rigour of hardships whose intensity served merely to hasten their untimely death. But the most painful constraint of all was that of the belly, which it was impossible to devise any means of dealing with, since the business of nature must needs take its course and swiftly find an outlet. Many people, preferring modesty to motion, tried to hold it in, and in their unavailing efforts to do so frequently put their lives at risk. But at daybreak we rounded the bend of what has previously been referred to as 'the Jetty', and

- ἐφάνησαν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐρχόμενοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς. 5 οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ καὶ
 πρῶτον ἐν τῇ πόλει παραγενόμενοι, ῥητάς τινας γυναῖκας ὠνήσασθαι
 θέλοντες, ἃς τὸ τάχος οἱ βάρβαροι τῶν νηῶν ἐξενεγκόντες ἀπέδοντο,
 80 πολὺ χρυσίον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κομισάμενοι. 6 ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πάλιν ἀναχθέντες
 κατήραμεν περὶ τὰ τέλη τῆς νήσου τῆς καλουμένης Παλλήνης· 7 καί
 τι μικρὸν ἐκέισε καθησυχάσαντες, τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπιτηδείου ὑπάρχοντος
 καὶ αὐθις πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἑσπάσθησαν τὰ ἱστία, ἃ καὶ διαπρησθέντα τῇ
 σφοδροτάτῃ ῥύμη τοῦ πνεύματος ἦγον ἡμᾶς φερομένους βιαίως, ἕως τῆς
 85 ἐφεξῆς κατ' ἀρχὰς ἡμέρας εὐρέθημεν εἰς τινα τόπον Διαδρομούςον παρὰ τῶν
 ναυτιλλομένων ὀνομαζόμενον, δύο μὲν ἔχοντα νήσους | ἀμφιμήκεις ἐξ ἐναν-
 τίας ἀλλήλων, μέσον δὲ τούτων ποταμοῦ δίκην τὴν θάλασσαν παραθέου-
 σαν καὶ τὰς νήσους ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίου καὶ μόνον ἐξ ἀλλήλων διείργουσιν. 8
 ἔνθα δὴ καὶ γενόμενοι νηὸς τινος δυστυχοῦς σίτου πεφορτισμένης περιετύ-
 90 χομεν, καὶ οὕτως ἀθρόον ὡς μηδὲ δυνηθῆναι τῷ αἰφνιδίῳ τῆς συμβάσεως
 τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ σωτηρίας ἔχοντόν τι προεξευρεῖν. 9 εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἔδοξαν
 πρὸς τὴν παρακειμένην νῆσον τὴν ναῦν ἐποκτεῖλαι καὶ πρὸς φυγὴν
 ἐκτραπῆναι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἐκ τούτου ἀπώναντο· 10 θάπτον γὰρ αὐτοὺς
 ἐξελθόντες οἱ βάρβαροι συνελέξαντο καὶ χωρὶς ἑνὸς μόνου πάντας πρὸς
 95 θάνατόν ὑπηγάγοντο. 11 ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πάλιν ἀπάραντες ἐπὶ δυσὶ νυχθ-
 ἡμέροις τὴν μεγάλην νῆσον παρεπλέομεν τῆς Εὐβοίας, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ
 βορειοτέρου ταύτης πελάγους ἰθύναντες τὰ ἱστία, τὰ παρὰ πόδας τῆς
 Ἀνδρου μετὰ τινος σφοδροτάτου ῥοιζήματος κατελάβομεν. 12 οὐ γὰρ
 ἐποιούμεθα κατ' εὐθείαν τὸν πλοῦν, οὐδὲ κατὰ τινος ὠρισμένου τόπου,
 5 ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν ἔδοξε τοῖς τῶν νηῶν ἀρχηγοῖς, τῇδε κάκεισε τὰς μεταβάσεις
 καὶ ἀντιστροφὰς ἐποιούμεθα. 13 καὶ γὰρ ἐδεδίησαν μὴ πού τις τύχοι
 παρῶν ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στόλος καὶ λάθοι κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπίνοιάν τινα
 μοχθηρὰν ἐργασάμενος. 14 διὰ τοῦτο ἄλλοτε ἄλλας νήσους καθάπερ
 τινὲς πλανῆται περιηρχόμεθα.
- 10 68. Οὕτω δὲ φερόμενοι κατηντήσαμεν εἰς τινα νῆσον Πάτμον καλου-
 μένην· ἔνθα δὴ καὶ προσεμείναμεν ἕξ ἡμέρας, παντὸς χαλεποῦ πείραν ἐν
 αὐτῇ καθυπομένοντες. 2 ἀνύδρου γὰρ | ὄντος τοῦ τόπου ἐληίζετο τοὺς
 αἰχμαλώτους ἡ δίψα. 3 οὐ γὰρ ἐδίδοδο ἡμῖν ὕδωρ ὅσον πρὸς σύστα-
 σιν τῆς ζωῆς ἐπῆρκει, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐμβραδύνειν ἐποίει καίπερ παρόντα
 15 τὸν θάνατον· 4 οὐπερ ὁ μετέχων, εἰ μὴ τὴν ὁσφρησιν κατὰ τὴν γεῦ-
 σιν ἐπείχεν ὡς μὴ κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆς αὐτοῦ δυσωδίας ἐπαισθανθῆναι, οὐδ'

put in around late afternoon at a place called Bolbos,¹¹⁸ where some horsemen were sighted riding from the land towards us. They were the same men who had shown up recently in the city, wishing to buy certain particular women, whom the barbarians quickly took off their ships and sold, receiving much gold for them. Then we put out to sea again, and put in for a short stop at the tip of the island called Pallene, where a favourable wind began to blow, and we set off once more, towards evening, under full sail and at full speed, until at the beginning of the following day we came to a place which sailors call Diadromoi.¹¹⁹ It consists of two longitudinally parallel islands with the sea running between them like a river and keeping them as little as only about one stade¹²⁰ apart from each other. When we got there we chanced upon an unfortunate ship with a cargo of grain and such was the suddenness of the encounter and the unexpectedness of the occurrence that its crew were not even in a position to take evasive action. For though they decided to run their ship aground on the neighbouring island and to make a bolt for it, this decision did them no good, since the barbarians, disembarking with greater speed, intercepted and killed all but one of them. After that we set sail again, coasted the large island of Euboia for two days and two nights, and heading for the open sea north of Euboia, arrived with all speed at a point somewhere in the vicinity of Andros.¹²¹ We did not in fact follow a direct route or head for some particular spot. Instead, the ship's captains kept veering and tacking now this way now that, more or less as the spirit moved them, because they were afraid that the Roman fleet might appear out of the blue, catch them off their guard and thus contrive to carry out some deadly manoeuvre against them. For this reason we kept sailing, like tramps, one time around the coast of one island another time around the coast of another.

§68. In this way we came to an island called Patmos,¹²² where we spent six days and endured and experienced every kind of hardship. The place was waterless and the prisoners were in consequence subjected to the ravages of thirst. We were not, in fact, given enough water to keep us alive, but just enough to cause the ever-present threat of death to linger. And anyone who tried to drink the water without first holding his nose, so as to prevent himself from getting a whiff of the foul-smelling liquid as soon as he put it to his lips, was unable to touch the stuff, since nature rebelled at

ὁλως τούτου παρεχωρεῖτο μεταλαβεῖν, τῆς φύσεως ἀνιωμένης καὶ εἰ
μόνον ἀπιδεῖν ἡβουλήθη τοῦτο, καὶ πρὸ τῆς πείρας τῆς καταπόσεως.
5 ἡ τροφή δὲ ἡμῶν ἄρτου τρύφος ἦν μόνον, καὶ τοῦτο διεφθορός, κατὰ-
20 λυσιν μᾶλλον ἢ σύστασιν τοῖς μετέχουσιν ἐργαζόμενον. 6 ἃ γὰρ
ἔτυχον λαβόντες οἴκοθεν πρὸ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν πρὸς χρεῖαν ἑαυτῶν οἱ
πολέμιοι, ταῦτα περιττεύσαντα καὶ πρὸς τελείαν σηπεδόνα χωρήσαντα,
καὶ οἷς οὐκ ἂν τι τῶν ἀλόγων ἐδυνήθη καὶ ἀπιδεῖν, εἰς μετάληψιν ἡμῖν
προσεφέροντο, ἀφάτου μὲν δυσωδίας καὶ ἀηδίας πλήρη, μεστήν δὲ
25 σκωλήκων καὶ πολλῇ σαπρίᾳ συμπεφυρμένην, πρὸς τε τὴν ξὺν τῶν
σωμάτων παντελῶς ἀνεέργητον 7 καὶ γὰρ ἦν εἰκάσαι πλήθος ἄπει-
ρον ἐκ τούτων ἐφ' ἐκάστης τῆς ἡμέρας τῷ θανάτῳ συναλυνόμενον,
πάρεργον τῆς δίψης καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ, τὰ τε σώματα τῶν θνησκόντων
ἀκοντιζόμενα τῆς νηὸς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ τοῖς κύμασιν
30 ἐπισπairoντα, καὶ τούτων μάλιστα τὰ δαίαια βρέφη τῷ ἀτελεῖ τῆς
φύσεως πλείω τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀλγεινῶν ἐμπορούμενα, τοὺς ζῶντας δὲ
πάλιν οὐ πόρρω τῶν προκειμένων ὑπάρχοντας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ὅμοιον
βλέποντας πέρας. 3 ἐξ ὧν ἀπάντων μᾶλλον ἡμεῖς, ὅσοι ταῖς στρέβλαις
ἡμεν πεπεδημένοι, πλείοσι | βασάνοις προσεπαλαιομεν. 9 καὶ γὰρ
35 θυλάκων ἀψύχων δίκην ταῖς σελίσιν ἀλλήλοις ἐπικαθήμενοι, καὶ τοῖς
ξύλοις, οἷς ἐνηρτήμεθα, τιτρωσκόμενοί τε καὶ συνθλιβόμενοι, ἀνεκδιή-
γητόν τινα καὶ ἄρρητον ὑφιστάμεθα τὴν ἀνάγκην, οὐδ' ὅπως οὖν
συστραφεῖναι ἢ τινος ἑαυτοῖς μεταδοῦναι σχολῆς συγχωρούμενοι, ἀλλ'
ἢ μόνον τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑψοῦντες μικρόν, εἴ που καὶ ἐλεύθερον ἀέρα ταῖς
40 ῥίσι ἐφελκύσωμεν καὶ μὴ πρὸ παντός ἄλλου δεινοῦ τῇ τῶν παρόντων
ἀναθυμιάσει τὴν πνοὴν ἐπαφήσοιμεν.

69. Τὸ δὲ τῶν φθειρῶν πλήθος ἕτερον ἦν κακὸν ἄφατον· καθάπερ
γὰρ τις θάνατος ἔρπων τὴν ἀπάντων ζωὴν κατεβόσκετο, ὡς ἐκ τούτου
τὰς μορφὰς πάντων ἀλλοιωθῆναι, καὶ ἐν ὑποψίᾳ ζώντων, οὐκ ἀληθεία
45 λογίζεσθαι. 2 ὅσας δὲ πληγὰς ἠφίεσαν μανικῶς φερόμενοι καθ' ἡμῶν,
ἢ ὅσαις λοιδορίαις καὶ ὀνειδέσι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμᾶς ἐπλυνον ὥραν, καὶ
οἷς ἐφαίνοντο τὴν μῆνιν φυλάττοντες τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ πολέμου, ποῖος
μὲν λόγος καθιστορῆσαι δυνήσεται, ποία δὲ ἀκοὴ τὴν τούτου παραδέ-
ξασθαι τραγωδίαν; 3 ἐμοὶ δὲ ἑκστασις ἐπείσέρχεται, ὅσάκις εἰς ἐν-
50 νοιαν ἔλθω μόνον τῶν ἀμετρήτων κακῶν ἐκείνων ὧν κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν
περίοδον τοῦ πλοὸς ὑπεμείναμεν, πῶς ἐκαρτερήσαμεν ἐνέγκαι τοσαύτην
πολυειδῆ συμφορὰν, ἀνθρώπεια σώματα, οἷς ἦν πρὸ τοῦδε τρυφηλὴ
καὶ διαρρέουσα δίαίτα καὶ πειρατικαῖς ἀνάγκαις οὐδαμῶς ἐνεθισθεῖσα,
πῶς δὲ τὴν ἀνύποιστον καὶ δισσὴν πύρῳσιν, τὴν τε ἐκ τοῦ | φλογμοῦ τῆς

the mere sight of it, even before one attempted to drink it down. Our food consisted of a single piece of bread, which, moreover, was rotten. It destroyed rather than sustained those who ate it. What, in fact, the enemy had taken with them from home many days earlier for their own needs and was left over and had gone completely rotten and was such that an animal would not have been able to bear the sight of, was what they brought for us to eat. It made a meal that was filled with unspeakable stench and nausea, replete with maggots and a liberal admixture of decaying matter and quite incapable of sustaining one's bodily strength. So, it was a fair guess that it was as a direct consequence of this state of affairs, itself a secondary consequence of hunger and thirst,¹²³ that untold numbers of people were dying in droves every day. Indeed this went some way towards accounting for a situation in which the bodies of the dying were flung overboard into the sea, where they lay a long time writhing on the surface of the waves, a situation in which luckless babes were marked out by their tender years for the fullest measure of suffering and pain and in which the plight of the living was not far removed that of the dead, whilst their expectations were identical. Those of us who had our legs in irons constituted the category for whom the greatest amount of torture had been reserved to contend with. Stacked together on benches like sacks of lifeless objects, cut and bruised by the wooden planks to which we were fastened, we endured unspeakable and indescribable torment. We could not even give ourselves a bit of relief by hunching ourselves up and changing position slightly. The most we could do was to raise our heads a small amount in the hope that we might actually manage to get a breath of fresh air¹²⁴ and not, to crown it all, be obliged to keep on breathing out other people's foul air.

§69. Another indescribable evil was the huge number of lice, which battened like a creeping death upon the lives of all, and so drastically altered our looks as to suggest the possibility but deny the reality of our existence. And what account will be able to portray the many blows with which they savaged us, the endless abuse and vituperation which they heaped upon our heads at every hour of the day and the various devices by which they demonstrably maintained their anger at its wartime level? And what ear will be able to entertain the recital of such a tragedy? It drives me to distraction just to think of the limitless ordeals we endured throughout the entire course of the voyage and I am filled with amazement at how we had the fortitude to bear so abundant and so varied an array of misfortunes, we who had the physical constitution of men with a dainty and luxurious lifestyle and one quite unaccustomed to the rigours and brutalities inflicted by pirates. How did we bear the unendurable double scorching from the fires of thirst and

- 55 δίψης καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς θερινῆς ὥρας τὰς φυσικὰς ἱκμάδας ἀναξηραίνουσιν, καὶ τό γε τούτων ἔλεεινότερον, πῶς συνεκρατεῖτο καὶ παρέμενεν ἡμῖν ἡ ψυχὴ, ὅποτε ταῖς νυξὶν ἐφήπλουν τὰς δερματίνας δέρρεις διὰ πασῶν τῶν νηῶν καὶ πάντας εἴσω τοὺς δυστυχεῖς ἡμᾶς ἐναπέκλειον, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς ἡμῖν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων βασκαίνοντες, ἵνα σκοτῶ καὶ
- 60 καύματι, δυσὶν ἀφύκτοις κακοῖς, τὴν ζωὴν εἰσπραττώμεθα. 4 ἄλλ' ἡγοῦμαι ὥς ταῦτα πάντα καρτερεῖν ἢ θεία καὶ προνοητικὴ τοῦ παντὸς ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἀνθρωπίνην διάνοιαν ἐνεδυνάμου πρόνοια, ἵν' ἐν ὑστέρω γνόντες ἐξ οἷων τότε κακῶν παρ' ἐλπίδας ἐρρύσθημεν ἡμᾶς γε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἄλλους τῷ ὑποδείγματι σωφρονίζωμεν.
- 65 **70.** Ἐπειδὴ δ' ὁ καιρὸς ἐκάλει τῆς πρὸς τὰ οἰκεία τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀφίξεως, πάλιν ἐκείθεν ἀποπλεύσαντες κατήχθημεν εἰς τινα νῆσον καλουμένην Ναξίαν, ἐξ ἧς οἱ τὴν Κρήτην οἰκοῦντες φόρους λαμβάνουσιν· 2 ἐν ἣ γενομένων ἡμῶν οἱ κατ' αὐτὴν ὄντες ἄνδρες δώροις τοὺς ἀρχηγούς ἡμεῖψαντο τῶν νηῶν, οἷς μάλιστα ἐδόκουν αὐτοὺς ἐνδεῶς ἔχειν πρὸς
- 70 τὴν τοῦ πλοοῦς χρεῖαν. 3 πλὴν κάκεῖ δύο μόνας ἡμέρας προτμείναντες κατηγόμεθα τὴν ἐπὶ Κρήτην (ἐκάλει γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐπιτήδειον πνεῦμα), ἕως κατήραμεν ἐν τινὶ τόπῳ Ζωντάριον μὲν παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ὀνομαζομένῳ, „Ἀντίστροφος“ δὲ ἡμῖν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ γνωρίζομένῳ· 4 πολλοὺς γὰρ τὸ Ζωντάριον ἐκείνο τῆς μὲν ζωῆς ἀπεστέρησε, τῷ θανάτῳ δὲ προὔ-
- 75 δωκε. 5 διὰ δὲ τὸ μὴ τὴν ἀπὸ νότου καὶ τοῦ λιβὸς δεδιέναι βλάβην τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ καθορμιζομένους, τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν διατριβὴν τοῦ ναυστάθμου τῆς πόλεως οἱ βάρβαροι προκεκρίκασιν. 6 ὥς οὖν κατήχθημεν, ἔγνωσαν οἱ Κρήτες (προεώρων γὰρ ἡμᾶς τῆς θαλάσσης μακρόθεν) καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὸν στόλον ἐφώρασαν ἐπέρχεσθαι τῇ νήσῳ,
- 80 ἐξ οὗ καὶ περιδεεῖς ἐγένοντο διὰ τὸ μὴ προπαρασκευάσθαι πρὸς πόλεμον. 7 ἔπειτα γενομένων ἡμῶν ἐγγύθεν, ἐπειδὴ ἐπέγνωσαν τινὰ γνωρίσματα τῶν νηῶν, πεφθάκασιν τὸν τόπον μετὰ πολλῆς θυμηδίας τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς δεξιούμενοι, καὶ ὥσπερ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν τρόπων τὸ γνήσιον τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους στοργῆς ἐνδεικνύμενοι· 8 αἰεὶ γὰρ, ὥς ὁ λόγος,
- 85 τὸ ὅμοιον τῷ ὁμοίῳ προστρέχει. 9 τότε δὴ πρῶτον ἅπαντες τῶν νηῶν ἐξῆλθον οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ τινος ἡμᾶς τυχεῖν ἀνέσεως τῆς ἐν ἀλλήλοις στενοχωρίας ἡξίωσαν, μετέδωκαν δὲ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν τόπον ὑδάτων πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ ἀφθόνως τοῖς κύμασι τῆς θαλάσσης περιρ-

from the summer's heat, which dried up all the moisture in our bodies, and how, most wretched of all these things, did our souls remain steadfast when at night they spread leather screens over all the ships and shut up the whole unhappy lot of us in the hold, as though begrudging us light as well as everything else, so that in heat and darkness, two inescapable ills, we should be forced to spend our lives? But it is my opinion that God's providence, which takes care of all things in a manner beyond all human comprehension, fortified us to endure all these tribulations in order that, later on, we might discover from what ills we had, at that time and against all odds, been delivered and that we might by our own example teach both ourselves and others a salutary lesson.

§70. But when the time for homecoming summoned the barbarians, we set sail again, leaving Patmos, and put in at an island called Naxos,¹²⁵ from which the inhabitants of Crete receive tribute. While we were on the island its inhabitants brought gifts to the captains of the ships, supplying them for the needs of the voyage with what they thought they were most in want of. But we left that island too, after a stay of just two days, and set off in the direction of Crete (a favourable wind beckoned us on) until we landed at a place called 'Zontarion'¹²⁶ by the local population but which in truth came to be known to us as 'the Reverse'.¹²⁷ Many people in fact did that 'Living Place' deprive of life and consign to death. Because those who moor their ships there are not liable to attack from the south or the southwest the barbarians preferred to ride at anchor in this place rather than in the roadstead in front of the city. As we were sailing in the Cretans spotted us (they had in fact already caught sight of us when we were still far out at sea) and suspected at first that it was the fleet of the Romans that was heading for their island. Consequently, they were greatly alarmed owing to the fact that they were unprepared for an attack. But as we drew nearer and they recognized certain emblems¹²⁸ on the ships they came up to the place and welcomed their co-religionists with open arms, thereby demonstrating as it were through their community of manners the true strength of their mutual affection. Which in fact goes to show that, as the proverb puts it, birds of a feather flock together. Then for the first time all the barbarians disembarked and thought fit to grant us an immediate respite from the cramped quarters we had been sharing. They also let us have some of the local water, of which there was a plentiful supply and which flowed out abundantly to meet the waves of the sea. And so, having enjoyed relief from our continual

- ρεόντων. 10 καὶ οὕτω τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν τῶν συνεχῶν ἀνεθέντες
 90 πόνων ἐδοκοῦμεν τῇ ἐξῆς χρηστοτέρων τινῶν μετασχεῖν, ἅτε πεπλη-
 θυσμένης οὔσης τῆς νήσου καὶ πολλὴν ἐχούσης τῶν χρειῶν δαψίλειαν.
 11 οὐκ ᾔδειμεν δὲ παραπλησίους ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν πρῶν ὁμιλεῖν χαλεποῖς,
 ἢ καὶ χείροσι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτά γε μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνα πάσχειν, ὥς ἂν δι' ἐκείνων
 τούτοις συντηρηθῶμεν.
- 95 **71.** Ἦδη γὰρ τῆς νυκτερινῆς σκιᾶς σχεδασθείσης, τοῦ δὲ | φωτὸς
 ἄρχομένου τὸν ὄρθρον ἐπανατέλλειν, κυριακῆς ἡμερῶν ἐπιφωσκούσης,
 ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐφ' ἐκάστης νηὸς ἠκούετο, ὥσπερ τινὰ θυμῆρη φωνὴν τῶν
 βαρβάρων συνυπηχούντων καὶ τοῖς κυμβάλοις κτυπούντων, ὥς πάντα
 δοκεῖν δονεῖσθαι τὸν τόπον καὶ πρὸς τὴν κραυγὴν ἑκταράττεσθαι.
- 5 2 εἶτα μετὰ τὴν ἄσημον ἐκείνην καὶ φοβερωτάτην ἡχὴν ἐπεχείρουν πρὸς
 τὴν γῆν ἀποφορτίζειν τὸν γόμον, διελόντες εἰς μερίδας κατὰ τὸν ἀριθ-
 μὸν τῶν νηῶν τὸν παρακείμενον τόπον, ὅπου μιᾶς ἐκάστης φόρτον,
 ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν, διηρημένως καὶ ἀποκεκριμένως ἀλλήλων ἐξεκομίζοντο,
 ὥς ἂν ἀμιγῇ τηρεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκάστης περιουσίαν καὶ τῶν προσόντων
- 10 ταῖς ἄλλαις παντελῶς ἀνεπίμικτον. 3 πᾶσαν οὖν ἐκείνην ἀνάλωσαν εἰς
 τὴν ἀποσκευὴν τὴν ἡμέραν. 4 τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἐξῆλθον τῆς θαλάσσης οἱ
 τῶν νηῶν ἀρχηγοὶ διελεῖν πάλιν εἰς ἄλλας μερίδας τό τε πλῆθος τῶν
 αἰχμαλώτων καὶ τὴν πολλὴν τῶν σκύλων ὕλην, ἥς ἐξίσταντο τὴν
 πληθύν οἱ Κρήτες, οὐδενὶ παραδείγματι συγκρίνειν ἔχοντες τὰ βλεπό-
- 15 μενα. 5 ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἔδοξε τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀναμιχθῆναι
 τῶν δυστυχῶν τὸν δῆμον, ὅπως τὸν ἀναγνωρισμὸν καὶ αὐθις οἱ συγ-
 γενεῖας τινὸς μετέχοντες ἐν ἀλλήλοις ποιήσωνται, τότε δὴ φοβερός τις
 ἠκούετο καὶ ταραχώδης θρῆνος πάντων ὥς ἀπὸ μιᾶς πηγῆς ἀφιέντων
 τοὺς κρουνούς τῶν δακρύων, καὶ θρυλλομένων, εἴ ποὺ τινος εὐτυχήσοιεν
- 20 τῶν φιλτάτων, καὶ μὴ λάθῃ παρελθοῦσα ἡ προθεσμία τῆς ἀνευρέσεως
 καὶ μείνωσιν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ | βεβαίῳ τὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς ψυχαγωγίαν ἐλπίσαν-
 τες. 6 περιήρχοντο γοῦν αἱ δυστυχεῖς γυναῖκες, τὰς κόμας ἔχουσαι
 λελυμένας, πανταχοῦ περισκοποῦσαι καὶ διαβρόχους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς
 περιάγουσαι, τίνι τῶν τέκνων πρῶτον ἐντύχωσιν. 7 οἱ δὲ δὴ παῖδες,
- 25 ὅσοι τὰ δεινὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διέφυγον, καθάπερ τινὲς ἀπαλοὶ μόσχοι γοε-
 ρὸν μυκῶνται τῆς θηλῆς ἀφαιρούμενοι, οὕτω δὴ καὶ οὗτοι ἐλεεινόν τι
 καὶ συμπαθὲς ἐκλαυθμύριζον, ἄλλος κατ' ἄλλο μέρος τῆς διασπορᾶς
 ἐκείνης γενόμενοι καὶ τὰς μητέρας ἀνακαλούμενοι. 8 οἷς καὶ περιτυγ-
 χάνουσαι πολλάκις αἱ δέιλαι μητέρες τὴν φυσικὴν ἐκίνουν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς

sufferings for one whole night we thought we might experience some improvement in our conditions on the following day since the island was extremely affluent and had a great abundance of all the necessities of life. Little did we know that the hardships which we would encounter there would be similar to if not actually greater than those which had recently confronted us and that we had been enduring the latter for the sake of the former, so that through the agency of past suffering we might yet be preserved for the experience of future affliction.

§71. The shades of night had already been scattered and daylight was beginning to usher in the dawn (the day that was dawning was a Sunday),¹²⁹ when a loud cry was heard on every ship as the barbarians joined in some kind of shouted chorus of rejoicing and clashed cymbals together so violently that the whole place shook and reverberated to their cries. Then, after that unintelligible and fearful din, they began to unload their cargo ashore, dividing up the adjacent land according to the number of their ships into sections, to which they brought each ship's cargo, whatever it was, all in separate batches the one from the other. Their purpose was to keep the wealth of each individual ship completely unmixed and unblended with the contents of its fellows. They spent the whole of that day unloading. On the following day the captains of the ships landed in order to divide up again into other lots the great crowd of prisoners and the very considerable amount of booty¹³⁰ at the sheer bulk of which the Cretans were dumbfounded, since what they witnessed was on a scale for which they could find neither precedent nor parallel. Then, when the barbarians decided for the first time to allow the hapless crowd to mingle freely so that those who were related might be able to recognize each other, a dreadful and confused sound of lamentation could be heard as everybody burst into floods of tears, as though from a single source, and began to babble incoherently, hoping that they might have the good fortune to encounter one of their loved ones and fearing that the time allowed for such discovery might run out on them before they realized it and leave them with no firm basis for the reassurance they had hoped to receive. Hapless women were wandering about with dishevelled hair and tear-stained eyes, looking around in every direction to see which of their children they would come across first. The children, on the other hand, those that had survived the ordeal at sea, were weeping in a piteous and heartrending fashion, like tender young calves that bellow piteously when they are being weaned. All had ended up in different places as a result of that infamous dispersion and all were crying out for their mothers. Often, when the unfortunate mothers found them, they would express their feelings for their children by hugging them and

30 συμπάθειαν, περιπλεκόμεναι τοῖς αὐχέσι καὶ πάντα αὐτῶν καταφιλοῦσαι
 τὰ μέλη καὶ δάκρυσιν πλύνουσιν, τοῦτο μόνον ἡγούμεναι μέγα τι καὶ
 θαυμαστὸν ὡς ἐν δεινοῖς παρηγόρημα τὸ παρ' ἐλπίδα σωθῆναι καὶ
 ζῶντας αὐταῖς καὶ αὐθις τοὺς φιλτάτους ἀποδοθῆναι. 9 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα
 μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐχούσαις ἐν χερσὶν ἤδη τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς
 35 ἀσφαλὲς ἐκ τῆς πείρας αὐτῆς γνωρίζουσιν. 10 τί δ' ἂν εἴποιμεν
 περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὧν καθ' ὑδάτων τὰ βρέφη διόλωλε καὶ ἄδηλον ἦν
 αὐταῖς τὸ συμβάν, πῶς τῷ φυσικῷ συνείχοντο πάθει, 11 πῶς διε-
 σπάραττον τοὺς χιτῶνας, τὸν ἔνδον τῆς καρδίας μὴ ὑπομένουσιν
 κλύδωνα, 12 πῶς οὐκ ἤθελον οὐδαμοῦ στῆναι, ἀλλὰ περιήγοντο
 40 φερόμεναι μάτην ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλόγου τοῦ πάθους ὁρμῆς, τῇδε κάκεισε τὰ
 ὅμματα περιστρέφουσαι, εἴ ποὺ τινὰ τῶν ποθουμένων θεάσονται ἢ
 τινος περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς ἰδόντος ἀκούσονται, | ἵν' ἐκείνῳ τὸ τῆς
 ψυχῆς φλεγμαῖνον κενώσῃ; 13 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔπραττον ἐπὶ δυσὶ
 45 πολλάκις ἢ καὶ τρισὶν ἡμέραις, ἕως πολλὰ καμώσιν ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν
 γνωρίμων τὸ περὶ τῶν ζητουμένων ἐδήλωσαν πέρας, λιμοῦ πολλάκις
 ἢ δίψης ἔργον τοὺς φιλτάτους αὐτῶν γεγενημένους. 14 ἐξ οὗ δὴ καὶ
 μᾶλλον τὸ πάθος ἐξαγριάνασαι, γεγωνότεροις θρήνοις καὶ ἄλλοις
 θλιβερῶν εἶδεσι τοὺς ἀποικοινοῦντες ἐφιλοφρόνουν. 15 ἀλλὰ τί μάτην
 τὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπιχειρῶ συγγραφὴν, οὐδὲ τὸ πολλοστὸν μέρος τῶν
 50 τότε πεπραγμένων ἱκανὸν παραστήσασθαι; 16 ἐκείνον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔδει
 παρῆναι τὸν τοὺς θρήνους τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀναγραφόμενον Ἱερεμίαν,
 ἵν' ἐπαφῇ δάκρυσιν ἀπαρηγόρητον ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον λαὸν τοσαύταις
 ὀλγῆδόσι κατατρυχόμενον. 17 οὐ γὰρ οὕτω φωνὴν ἀφῆκε Ῥαχὴλ ἐν
 55 γραφῇ, ὡς ἡ κοιλὰς ἐκείνη καθ' ἣν ἐτελεῖτο ταῦτα τὰς ὀλγῆδόνων τῶν
 ὀλόντων συνεπιτείνουσα.

72. Οἶον γὰρ πάλιν ἀπὸ τούτων παρὰ τῶν μισοθέων ἐπράχθη
 κακόν! 2 καθὼς γὰρ φθάσαντες ἔφημεν, λογισαμένων αὐτῶν πρῶτον
 ὡς εἰ κατὰ συγγένειαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ τοῦ πλήθους ἀναμιχθῶσι τῶν
 60 αἰχμαλώτων, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ὀδυνῶν παύσονται, καὶ πρὸς τὴν δου-
 λείαν ἡνίκα ἂν ἐκδοθῶσι, φορητὴν αὐτοῖς εἶναι ὡς ἐν κακοῖς τὴν ἐπιτή-
 ρειαν, ὡς εἶδον αὐτοὺς ταῖς ἀγχιστεῖαις ἐπισυναπτομένους καὶ καθάπερ
 σειρὰν ἄλυτον ἕτερον ἐχόμενον τοῦ | ἐτέρου τὸν τε χωρισμὸν δυσδιαί-
 ρετον, καθὼς ἔμελλον τὰς μερίδας μιᾶς ἐκάστης νηὸς ἀπονεῖμαι, ἐβουλεύ-
 65 σαντο πάλιν βουλὴν πονηρὰν καὶ πολεμίαν τῆς φύσεως. 3 τοὺς

plastering them with kisses and wetting them with tears, thinking this their only consolation in an otherwise dreadful situation, namely that their loved ones had, against all odds, been kept safe and returned once more to them alive. So much, then, for those women who were holding their children in their arms at last and who knew from actual experience that they were safe and sound. But what of the others whose babies had perished at sea and who had no idea what had happened? How shall I describe their state of physical agitation? How, unable to restrain the tide of their emotions, they tore their clothes? How they would not keep still for a moment but wandered aimlessly around completely at the mercy of their own irrational impulses and casting glances in all directions in the hope that they might somewhere catch sight of one of their loved ones or contrive to hear from someone with first-hand knowledge of their fate and thus bring some relief to the anxiety that was preying on their minds? And they put themselves through this routine many times over for two or three days until, when they were thoroughly exhausted, certain others of their acquaintance told them at last what had happened to those whom they were seeking, that their nearest and dearest had fallen victim often to hunger or thirst. At this news they made it plain that they felt their sorrow even more keenly, and saluted the dead with louder cries of lamentation and with other expressions of grief. But why do I try to furnish an account of these things, when I am incapable of conveying a proper idea of even a tiny fraction of the events that took place on that occasion? The famous Jeremiah who wrote the Lamentations over the fate of Jerusalem should have been present in person in order to shed an inconsolable tear at the plight of so many people ground down by such numerous afflictions. No louder was the cry that Rachel uttered in Ramah¹³¹ when, as Scripture tells us, she mourned the loss of her children, than was the the cry that was sent up by the valley which was the scene of these vicissitudes, when it caused the prisoners' woes to echo over its entire length.

§72. What a wicked crime was once again committed by these enemies of God! As I have already stated, they had calculated initially that if they let the individuals that composed the crowd of prisoners mingle with their relatives and experience an interruption of their many afflictions, they would be disposed, when sold into slavery, to bear such outrage with resignation as part and parcel of their common lot. But when they saw that they were linking arms to form a human chain and clinging so tight to one another that it would be hard to separate them, when they came to divide them up into batches and assign them to individual ships, they took once more an evil

ἅπαξ γὰρ ἐνωθέντας διαιρεθῆναι καὶ αὖθις προσέταττον· 4 καὶ εἴ
 πού τις μήτηρ, φησίν, ἐν αὐτοῖς νήπιον ἔχουσα τοῦ γάλακτος προσδεό-
 μενον, τοῦτο μόνον πρὸς τὴν τεκοῦσαν μένειν οἱ δυσσεβεῖς κατεθέσπισαν
 ὡς μηδὲν τυχὸν δυνάμενον ἑαυτῷ πρὸς τὴν ζωὴν συντελεῖν, τοὺς λοι-
 70 πούς δὲ τῶν συγγενικῶν συναφειῶν καὶ αὖθις διαιρεθέντας ἀναμίξ καὶ
 ἀδιαφόρως τοῖς κλήροις ἀποδοθῆναι. 5 ἀλλὰ τίς λόγος τὸ μέγεθος
 τῆς συμφορᾶς ταύτης ἐκφράσοι; 6 ποία δὲ γλῶσσα ῥητόρων ἐπεξελ-
 θεῖν δυνηθεῖ τὴν ποικίλην ἐκείνην καὶ πολυειδῆ τῶν ὀδυνῶν κάκωσιν,
 ὅποτε καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ φύσις τῷ καινῷ τούτῳ καὶ παραλόγῳ προστάγματι
 75 εἰς πολλὰ κατετέμεντο, τοῦτο μόνον ἔγκλημα τὴν κοινωνίαν τοῦ γένους
 ἔχουσα καὶ τὴν ἔμφυτον τῶν ἐνωθέντων συνάφειαν; 7 καὶ γὰρ ἀπε-
 σπᾶτο πατὴρ μὲν υἱός, μητὴρ δὲ θυγάτηρ καὶ ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφοῦ. 8 ἐν
 οἷς τί πάσχειν εἰκὸς τούτους ἅπαντας, ὅποτε πρὸς δουλείαν ἤγοντο
 εἰς γῆν ἄλλοτρίαν, ὅπου τὸ μὲν σέβας τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς πίστεως ὡς ἐναγὲς
 80 ἐνυβρίζειται, πάθη δὲ τιμᾶται ἄλογώτατα, ὅπου πορνεία σεμνύνεται
 καὶ μανία γεραίρεται, καὶ πολλῆς τιμῆς καταξιοῦται ἀναίδεια, ὅπου
 τῶν ἀρρένων ἡ φύσις εἰς γυναικείαν χρῆσιν μετάγεται, καὶ ἡ κτίσις
 ὑβρίζεται, καὶ συγχύσεως γέμει πάντα καὶ πρὸς τὸ κακὸν ἀνατέτρα-
 πται. 9 τί πρῶτον | τούτων ἀπάντων ἐκόψαντο; 10 ἐν ποίῳ δὲ μὴ
 85 ἀγχόνην ἠρήσαντο καὶ τὴν ζωὴν αὐτὴν ἀπηνήσαντο; 11 ἀλλ'
 ὁμῶς ἔφερον πάντα, τὴν ἐπὶ πᾶσι μεγαλοψυχίαν παρεχομένου θεοῦ
 καὶ τῷ οἰκείῳ βουλήματι τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον μεθαρμόζοντος.

73. Ὡς δὲ πάλιν τῷ προστάγματι τούτῳ τῆς ἐξ ἀλλήλων διηρέ-
 θησαν συγγενείας, ἐκάθηντο φρουρούμενοι κατὰ διαφόρους τόπους,
 90 ἕως ἐξῆλθεν ἕτερον πρόσταγμα, πάντας ἀριθμηθῆναι καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἰδέας
 τῶν προσώπων καὶ τῶν ἡλικιῶν τὸ διάφορον ἐκάστης νηὸς ἰδίον σύν-
 ταγμα γνωρισθῆναι, ἵν' ἐν μηδεμιᾷ φανείῃ πλεονασμός φησιν ἢ ὑφαί-
 ρεσις, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐνόντων ταῖς ναυσὶ βαρβάρων, οὕτω
 καὶ τὰς μερίδας γενέσθαι καὶ μηδὲν αὐταῖς περιττὸν ἢ ἑλλείπον ἀποδο-
 95 θῆναι. 2 ἡρίθησαν οὖν ἐν πρώτοις τὴν πληθὺν ἀπασαν· ἡ δὲ ἦν
 δύο καὶ εἴκοσι χιλιάδες, ἐξ ὧν ἀπάντων, χωρὶς ἡμῶν τῶν λόγῳ τῆς
 καταλλαγῆς τηρουμένων, οὐκ ἦν οὐδεὶς ὃς τὸν πῶγωνα εἶχε τετριχω-
 μένον. 3 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ προβεβηκυῖα γυνὴ ἐν ταύταις πάσαις ταῖς χιλιά-
 σιν. 4 ἐπίλεκτος δὲ τις ἦν καὶ νεάζων ὁ δῆμος, καὶ οἷον ἐρίζων ἕκαστος
 5 ἡ τῷ ἄκμαίῳ τῆς ἡλικίας ἢ τῷ ὠραίῳ τῆς μορφῆς ὑπερβαίνειν τὸν ἕτε-
 ρον, κἂν ἡ ἐπαλληλία τῶν δυσχερῶν τῶν φυσικῶν αὐτοὺς ἔξεων ἄλλο-

and unnatural decision. They gave orders that those who had once been united should again be separated. Moreover, those impious wretches made it a rule of conduct when dealing with us that, if, say, a mother had an infant that was still being breast-fed, then only that child was to stay with his mother, since he would not in fact be able to fend for himself. Everybody else, on the other hand, was to be separated from his family all over again, so that people were simply herded together and then callously sorted out into convenient batches. But what account could do justice to the scale of this disaster? What orator could summon up sufficient eloquence to enumerate the many kinds and qualities of pain inflicted when nature herself was dismembered by this novel and outrageous order, her only crime being the common bond of blood and the inborn solidarity of kinship? Son was dragged away from father, daughter from mother, brother from brother. What must they all have felt in such a situation, when they were being led off to slavery in a foreign land, where the worship of our faith is treated as an abomination and the most senseless passions are revered, where whoredom is held in high repute, where madness is honoured and shamelessness prized, where males are made to play the part of females and creation is violated, and everything is topsy-turvy, confused, distorted and directed towards evil? At which first out of all these ills did they beat their breasts? At which choice of evils would they not rather have chosen to hang themselves and do away with life itself? Yet they bore everything, for God provided the nobility of soul to cope with each eventuality and regulated every detail according to His will.

§73. When they were once more separated from their relatives as a result of this order, they were made to sit under surveillance in various places until a second order came, to the effect that they must all be counted and that individuals were to be assigned to each ship on the basis of their particular physique and of the age group to which they belonged. The stated objective of this arrangement was to ensure an even distribution and unvarying proportion of prisoners to barbarians on board the ships. Accordingly, they first counted the entire crowd of people. It totalled twenty-two thousand,¹³² out of all of whom, with the exception of those of us who were being detained pending the exchange of prisoners, there was not a single boy who had grown his first beard, nor, in all those thousands, was there even one woman of mature years. It was in truth a hand-picked crowd of youngsters, each of whom vied with his fellow in respect of youthful vigour and physical beauty, even though the constant succession of hardships and privations had clearly taken its toll of their bodily

τριοῦν ἐβιάζετο. 5 ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ πάντες εἰς μερίδας γενόμενοι πάλιν
 μετὰ τῶν σκύλων ταῖς ναυσὶ συνηλάθησαν (ἄμφω γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα σὺν τῷ
 πλήθει διενεμήθησαν), τότε δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ | τὴν Κρήτην οἰκοῦντες
 10 οὐκ ὀλίγους ὠνοῦντο, πολὺ χρυσίον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καταβαλέσθαι μὴ
 παραιτούμενοι, οὐχ ἄπλῶς οὐδ' ὥς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ κέρδους τινὸς ὑπόθεσιν
 ἑαυτοῖς ἐκ τούτου περιποιούμενοι. 6 ἤδεισαν γὰρ πολυπλασίονα τῶν
 διδομένων λαβεῖν, ἥνίκα ἂν καταλλαγῆς ἐπέλθοι καιρὸς, ὅποτε τοὺς
 ὁμοφύλους αὐτῶν, τοὺς παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων χειρωθέντας, ἐκδέχονται.
 15 7 οὐδὲ γὰρ ὥς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Συρίαν, οὕτω καὶ τούτοις ἡ τῶν αἰχμαλώ-
 των ἀπολύτρωσις ἐκτελεῖται, ἀλλ' ἐπεκράτησεν ἐν τούτοις παλαιὸν ἔθος
 χρόνῳ βεβαιωθέν, ἵνα καὶ τὸν βάρβαρον, ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν, χάριν τοῦ
 κατεχομένου κομίζονται, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δοθεῖσαν τιμὴν ἀπαιτῶσιν
 εἰς τὸ διπλάσιον. 8 διὰ τοι τοῦτο πολλοὺς οἱ Κρήτες τῶν αἰχμαλώτων
 20 ὠνήσαντο, τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς συμφορὰν κέρδους συνεισφορὰν ἑαυτοῖς
 ἐφευράμενοι. 9 ἐπράχθη δὲ ταῦτα ἐφ' ὅλαις ἡμέραις δέκα, αἰεὶ τῶν
 ἐθάδων νηῶν μετασκευαζουσῶν τοὺς ὠνούμενους καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν
 πόλιν μεταγουσῶν. 10 ἐν οἷς ἔτυχεν ἐκδοθεῖσα καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελ-
 φοῦ σύζυγος, οὐ μετρίαν ἡμῖν ὀδύνην περιποιήσασα. 11 ἡ δέ μοι μήτηρ
 25 καὶ ἡ γαμετὴ σὺν δυσὶ τέκνοις (τὸ γὰρ ἕτερον ἔργον ἦν γενόμενον τῆς
 θαλάσσης), ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἑλεηνὸς ἄθλιος ὁ τλήμων ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἡ τῷ χρόνῳ
 πάντων ἐφυστερίζουσα ἀδελφή, ἐκ τινος θεϊκῆς προνοίας εἰς μίαν Σιδω-
 νίαν ἔτυχον ναῦν, τῆς πρὸς Συρίαν ἀποδημίας τηρούμενοι. 12 ἡμᾶς
 δὲ πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ καταλλαγῇ τηρουμένους ἔτι διεσπαρμένους ὄντας
 30 συναγαγόντες οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ τινι πολεμικῇ νηὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ λιμέ|νος
 ἀνασπασθεισῶν ὑφ' ἐν εἰσενεγκόντες καθεῖρξαν, φύλακάς τινας τῶν
 κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐμπεύρων αὐτῶν ἡμῖν συμβιβάσαντες.

74. Καὶ οὕτως ἐσκευάζοντο μετὰ μίαν ἄλλην ἡμέραν ἔχεσθαι τοῦ
 πλοός· ἥδη γὰρ ἦγεν αὐτοὺς ὁ καιρὸς καὶ χρονίζειν οὐκ ἐδίδου τῷ
 35 τόπῳ, πρὸς τὸ χειμέριον τὸν ἀέρα μετατιθέμενος. 2 ἵπποις οὖν ἐφε-
 στῶσιν ἐπιβάντες οἱ τῶν νηῶν ἀρχηγοὶ μετὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ τυράννου
 πρὸς τῇ πόλει γεγόνασιν, ἅμα μὲν ἐνδεικνύμενοι τοῖς Κρησὶ τὴν ἐπὶ
 τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐν ἡμῖν περιφάνειαν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν βδελυρὰν αὐτῶν
 τελετὴν ἐκπληρώσοντες, δεξιωθῆναί τε παρὰ τῶν αὐτοχθονίων καὶ
 40 τινος τυχεῖν τῶν προηγωνισμένων ἀνέσεως. 3 οὐ δὴ καὶ μίαν ἄλλην
 ἡμέραν προσδιατρίψαντες τομῶς ὑπέστρεψαν, ἐπισπεύδοντες τὰ πρὸς
 τὸν πλοῦν, καλοῦντος αὐτοὺς ἥδη τοῦ πνεύματος. 4 ἥδη δὲ τῆς
 δωδεκάτης ἡμέρας ἀρχομένης, λέγω δὴ τῆς πρὸς τὴν Κρήτην ἀφίξεως,

condition. But when all of them were split up into groups, and were stowed in the ships once more together with the booty (for this, together with the people, was also divided up), the barbarians who inhabit Crete bought a considerable number of them and were not unwilling to pay a lot of money for them in what was no random or casual purchase but a shrewd and extremely lucrative transaction. They knew in fact that they would get back many times what they had paid as soon as the time came for the exchange of prisoners and they awaited the return of their fellow countrymen who had been taken prisoner by the Romans. In fact the ransoming of prisoners is not conducted by them in the same way as it is in Syria; but a long-standing custom has in the course of time established itself amongst them whereby they rescue their barbarian, regardless of who he was, in exchange for the man whom they are holding, whilst demanding back twice the price which they paid for that man. For this reason the Cretans bought many prisoners, since they had discovered a means of turning our misfortune to their account. This went on for ten whole days, as the usual ships kept taking on board their human merchandise and conveying it to the city. My brother's wife was among those sold, an occurrence which caused us considerable anguish. But my mother and my wife together with two children (the third child had perished at sea) and also my poor unhappy brother and our youngest sister happened by some dispensation of Providence to be in a ship from Sidon and consequently destined for transportation to Syria. All those of us who were still being held in connection with the exchange, and were still dispersed, the barbarians collected and confined together in one of the warships that had been fished up out of the harbour.¹³³ And they embarked with us as guards some of their men also who had experience of ships.

§74. And so they made preparation for sailing in one day's time. The season was already urging them on, and it did not allow them to loiter, since the weather was becoming unsettled and might turn stormy. Accordingly the captains of the ships, together with the tyrant himself,¹³⁴ mounted horses that stood to hand and went to the city in order to display the glory of their exploits to the Cretans and to celebrate the rites of their abominable religion and also with the idea of being fêted by the local population and enjoying a rest from their previous exertions. So they spent another day there, then returned quickly and made rapid preparations for the departure, since the wind was already inviting them to do so. We set sail at daybreak on the twelfth day, the twelfth, that is, since our arrival in Crete.¹³⁵ We headed for the island of Dia,¹³⁶ which lies opposite Crete, then we changed course in

τοῦ πλοῦς ἀπηρξάμεθα. 5 μετήχθημεν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀντικρὺ νῆσον,
 45 ἥτις Διὸς καλεῖται· καὶ πάλιν ἐκείθεν ἀναχθέντες ἐν τῷ τῆς νήσου πέρατι
 προσωρμίσθημεν. 6 ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὑδρευσάμενοι καὶ μικρόν τι τῷ τόπῳ
 προσμείναντες, ὡς κατ' οὐρὰν εἶδον γεγονότα τὸν ἄνεμον, ἀπέπλευσαν
 ἐκείθεν κατὰ μέσον ἰθύναντες τοῦ πελάγους. 7 ἡμεν δὲ πάντες, ὡς
 εἴρηται, ἐν μιᾷ νηὶ Ῥωμαία πολεμικῇ, ἥτις ἦν διήρης, ὧν τὴν μὲν ἄνω
 50 καθέδραν οἱ λαχόντες εἶναι μεθ' ἡμῶν βάρβαροι ἑαυτοῖς ἐκληρώσαντο,
 τὴν κάτω δὲ ἡμῖν ἐπαφῆκαν, σκότους πολλοῦ καὶ δυσωδίας πλήρη.
 8 καὶ τί ἄλλο γε χρὴ λέγειν ἢ τάφον ἐν ὕδασι πορευόμενον; 9 εἰ γὰρ
 ἀπαριθμῆσαι θελήσω καθ' ἐν ὅσα κατὰ τὴν περίοδον ἐκείνην τοῦ πλοῦς
 ὑπέστημεν καὶ μεθ' ὅσης στενοχωρίας, μύθους δόξω τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐξη-
 55 γεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκτρέπεσθαι, καθ' ἣν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ λόγου πάντα
 γραφῇ παραδοῦναι καθυπεσχόμην. 10 διὰ τοι τοῦτο τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν
 πεπραγμένων ἐκὼν παραδραμών, οἷς ἂν ἐδόκουν μάλιστα τὴν ἡμετέραν
 ἐξαρκεῖν διάνοιαν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν προσδιατρίψας, ὡς ἐν ἅπασιν τὸ πιστόν
 σοι παρασχεῖν, ὧ σοφώτατε ἀνδρῶν καὶ φιλομαθέστατε Γρηγόριε,
 60 κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον πάλιν καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν διεξίω, ἱκανῶν
 καὶ ὡσαύτως ὄντων καὶ ἀμείλικτον διαθρύψαι καρδίαν, μὴ τί γε τὴν
 σὴν, ἥς τοῦτο μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶν ἰδιαίτατον ἢ συμπάθεια, ἥ
 πειθαρχῶν εἰς ταύτην ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν τὴν συγγραφὴν προετρέψω καὶ
 πράγματος τοσούτου κατατολμῆσαι παρεβιάσω, τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπερ-
 65 βαίνοντος δύναμιν.

75. Πλὴν ἄλλ' οὕτω περὶ πολλὰς συμφορῶν ἰδέας προσπαλαιόντων
 ἡμῶν ἔφθασεν ἐπιστᾶσα καὶ τρικυμία τις, θαλάσσιον διεγείρουσα κλύ-
 δωνα, τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς ἀπειλοῦντα κίνδυνον· 2 ἐξ οὗ καὶ πᾶσαι διε-
 σκορπίσθησαν αἱ νῆες, τῷ ῥοίζῳ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐξ ἀλλήλων μακρὰν
 70 διασπασθεῖσαι καὶ τοῦ κατ' εὐθείαν ἦκειν ἐκκλίναςαι. 3 οὐκ οἶδα
 δ' ἐκ τίνος πονηροῦ δαίμονος ἔτυχε παραπλέων ἡμῖν ἐγγύθεν ἐξ εὐωνύ-
 μου ὁ δυσώνυμος Λέων, κατὰ πρύμναν τῆς ἰδίας νηὸς καθήμενος καὶ
 τοῖς κυβερνήταις τὴν περὶ τοῦ πλεῖν ἐμπειρίαν διατάττων. 4 μεθ'
 ὧν καὶ τις ὀπισθεν ναῦς ἑτέρα εἴλκε τῶν ἄλλων ὑποδεεστέρα, ἥτις ἦν
 75 τῇ βίᾳ τῆς ζάλης μέσον διαρραγεῖσα καὶ ἀπειλοῦσα τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ ἤδη
 παρόντα τὸν ἐν ὕδασι θάνατον· 5 ἐξ ἧς ἀνέκραγον οἱ κατ' αὐτὴν
 βάρβαροι „σῶσον ἐπιστάς, ὦ καθηγεμὼν τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ μὴ ἑάσης
 δῆμον τοσούτων Ἀγαρηνῶν ἀπολέσθαι, οὓς μέχρι τοῦδε πολλῶν κιν-
 δύνων ἀπειράτους ἐτήρησας,“ ἐξειπόντες ἐν ὀλίγῳ καὶ τὸ συμβάν.
 80 6 ὁ δὲ παρευθὺ κατ' αὐτοὺς τὴν ναῦν ἰθῦναι τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν προστάξας
 ἀκριβέστερον ἀνηρώτα. 7 οἱ δὲ πάλιν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐβόων, καὶ τὸ πά-
 θος τῆς νηὸς ὑποδείξαντες ἐπρεσβεύοντο πάντων ἡμῶν τῶν δεσμιῶν

a seaward direction and eventually anchored off the furthest tip of the island. They stopped there for a while to take on a supply of water, and when they saw that the wind was favourable, made straight for the open sea. We were, as has been pointed out, all on board a single Roman warship. The ship had two banks of oars, and the barbarians who had been detailed to escort us took the upper deck for themselves and consigned us to the murky and evil-smelling depths of the lower deck, which was little better than a floating grave. If I wished to furnish a detailed narrative of the hardships and overcrowding to which we were continually subjected during that voyage, most people would think that I was romancing and departing from that strict adherence to truth that I promised at the outset of my account would be the guiding principle of my writing.¹³⁷ Accordingly, having deliberately omitted most of what took place and confined myself so far to that which it lies within my mental capacity to convey, and having done so with a view to providing you, Gregory, o wisest and most learned of men, with an account that is reliable in every particular, let me now observe the same procedure in dealing with the remaining part of my narrative. It is a tale of such a kind as to move even a heart of stone, let alone your heart which is especially tender and compassionate. Indeed it was this compassion of yours that moved you to encourage me to undertake this piece of writing, and drove me to the audacity of assuming a responsibility to which I am so greatly unequal.

§75. But while we thus wrestled with misfortune in many shapes, a mighty wave towered over us and sent a surge of sea that placed our lives in mortal jeopardy. It scattered all the ships, which were dragged and driven far apart from each other and blown off course by the fury of the wind. Now it came about by the machinations of some foul fiend that Leo of evil name was sailing alongside us at close quarters on our left, seated at the stern of his own ship and instructing the helmsmen how to handle their craft. Another ship, smaller than the rest, was bringing up the rear. It had been split down the middle by the force of the storm and its condition was such as to threaten those on board it with a watery grave. The barbarians on board called out from the ship: 'Come to our rescue, o commander of the fleet, and do not allow so great a multitude of Hagarenes, whom you have so far preserved unscathed from many dangers, to perish!' Their shouted message told him briefly what had happened, and having given immediate instructions to his crew to steer the ship towards them, he questioned them more closely. They once more cried out of one accord, pointed to what had happened to their ship and implored him to throw all of us prisoners into the sea and take them on board our ship. It would be an outrage, they said, if

τῇ θαλάσσει ριφέντων αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ναῦν μετασκευασθῆναι, ἐφύβριστον εἶναι λέγοντες ἐν τοσοῦτῳ κακῷ σωζομένων ἡμῶν ἐκεῖ-
 85 νους τοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν γενέσθαι κινδύνου καὶ μὴ προτιμηθῆναι τῆς ἡμετέρας ζωῆς. 8 πρὸς δὲ δὴ καὶ κατένευσε παραχρῆμα, ἐπιτρέψας στᾶσαν τὴν ναῦν ἡμᾶς μὲν τῇ θαλάσσει ριφῆναι, ἐκείνους δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ μετακομισθῆναι. 9 ἐν ὧσιν δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράττετο, ἐλάθομεν οὐκ ὀλίγον ἀποστάντες ἡμεῖς· 10 ἐφερόμεθα γὰρ βιαίῳ τινὶ καὶ χαλεπῷ τῷ ὁρμή-
 90 ματι τοῖς κύμασιν ἐλαυνόμενοι, ὡς οὐ μόνον κραυγῆς ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βροντῆς ἐκεῖθεν, ἐξ οὗ κατελίπομεν αὐτοὺς, δυνάμενοι ἐξακούειν. 11 ὡς οὖν εἶδον μακρὰν ἀποστάν|τας, νεύματι μόνον προσμένειν τοὺς σὺν ἡμῖν βαρβάρους ἐπέτρεπον. 12 οἱ δὲ εἶτε μὴ συνιέντες πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίουν, εἶτε καὶ ἐκόντες αὐτοὺς παραλογισάμενοι τῷ μὴδ' ὅλως φαίνεσθαι
 95 προσέχειν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν πραττομένοις, τάχα δὲ τοῦτο πλεον ὑπὸ τῆς ἀφάτου περὶ ἡμᾶς κηδεμονίας τοῦ θεοῦ διδαχθέντες, εἶχοντο τοῦ πλοός, μηδένα λόγον τῶν κατόπιν ποιούμενοι, ἀλλὰ πάσῃ σπουδῇ τὴν αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν ἐν οὕτῳ βιαιοτάτῳ μηχανώμενοι κλύδωνι.

76. Ὡς δὲ μακρὰν ἀποστάντας εἶδον ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖνοι καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν τὴν
 5 σκῆψιν χωροῦσαν, συνείχοντο δὲ κινδυνεύοντες τοῖς ὕδασι τῆς νηὸς καταδυομένης, ἄλλην τινὰ δέησιν τῷ τυράννῳ προσῆγον, λαβεῖν μὲν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ναῦν, ἔᾶσαι δὲ τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν, μεθ' ὧν ἐπεφέροντο σκύλων, τῇ θαλάσσει δοθῆναι. 2 ὁ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο πάλιν ἦν εὐπειθής, καίπερ τοῦ καιροῦ μὴ συγχωροῦντος ἀλλὰ τὴν πάντων ἀπόγνωσιν
 10 ἐπιτείνοντος, καὶ τῶν ἀγωγίμων τοῦ πρώην φόρτου αὐτάρκη τῆς νηὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν χρεῖαν ἀποπληρύντων. 3 πλὴν οὐκ ἔδοξε τοῦτο συμφέρον εἶναι, τῶν βαρβάρων περισωθέντων τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καταλιπεῖν τῷ θαλασσίῳ βυθῷ, ἀλλὰ τι δῆθεν ἐλέους ἐχόμενον καθ' ἑαυτὸν βουλευ-
 15 σάμενος, τάχα τῇ μανίᾳ τῆς φιλαργυρίας εἰς τοῦτο συνελαθείς, οὐχὶ δὲ συμπαθείᾳ τινὶ περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀπωλείας δυσωπηθείς (πῶς γὰρ ὅς ἐφαίνετο πρώην τοῖς ἀδίκους φόνοις τρυφῶν), ὅμως | καὶ αὐτοὺς μετε-
 20 4 πάντων δὲ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ναῦν τὸ τάχος μετενεχθέντων, ἔδου ἐκείνῃ τοῖς ὕδασι βλεπόντων τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νηὶ τοῦ τυράννου φυλαττομένων αὐτοῖς· 5 οἵτινες καὶ ἡμῖν ἐν ὑστέρω ταῦτα διηγήσαντο, τὸ παντεπίσκοπον καὶ φιλόανθρωπον ἐκπληττόμενοι τῆς θεϊκῆς προνοίας. 6 πολλῷ γὰρ πλείων χιλίων ψυχῶν
 20 ἔφασκον εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ναῦν ἐκείνην, ἔκ τε τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τῶν ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ κατ' αὐτὴν εἰσενεχθέντων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ῥηθείσης προστεθέντων αἰτίας, ὡς τοσοῦτον ἀπέχειν βαπτισθῆναι τὴν

in so dire an emergency we were saved, whereas they were exposed to the perils of the deep and *their* lives were not preferred to ours. He immediately acceded to their request and gave orders for the ship to stop, for us to be thrown into the sea and for them to be taken on board. But while all this was happening, we had moved away for a considerable distance without anyone realizing it. We had in fact been sent scudding over the waves by a violent gust of wind with such impetuous rapidity that we were incapable of hearing not just the sound of shouting from the spot where we had left them but even the noise of a thunderclap. When they saw that we were a great distance away they signalled to the barbarians who were with us to wait. But because they did not understand the meaning of their signal or because they deliberately misled them by pretending not to notice what they were doing or, as is perhaps more likely the case, because they were instructed to do so by Divine Providence in His ineffable concern for us, they sailed on, paying no heed to those who followed and striving to secure their own safety and ours in the face of so overwhelmingly violent a storm.

§76. When they saw that we were far away and that their plea was falling on deaf ears, and their ship began to founder and they continued to be in deadly peril, they addressed another request to the tyrant: to take them on board his own ship and jettison the people that were with them and the booty that they had brought with them. Once again he was inclined to accede to this request, even though there simply was not enough time for such an operation. Moreover, the fact that time was running out was itself intensifying the mood of universal despair and his recent cargo merely constituted what was needed to maintain his ship's self-sufficiency in the necessities of life.¹³⁸ However, he decided that it would not be to his advantage to save the barbarians and send the prisoners to the bottom of the sea, and opted instead for what, on the face of it, was a merciful expedient but was probably dictated by his insane passion for money. He certainly was not deterred by any humanitarian concern over the loss of prisoners' lives (that was unthinkable in a man who a short while ago had openly indulged in an orgy of wicked and senseless slaughter). At all events, he ordered both the prisoners and the barbarians to be taken on board, so that even in these matters he might find a way to swell his purse, pander to his own greed and satisfy his lust for gold even though it involved a reckless piece of overloading. Then, when they had all been quickly transferred to his ship, their ship went down in the sight of the barbarians and of the generals¹³⁹ who were being held in custody on board the tyrant's ship; who later told us these things, and expressed their utter amazement at the loving kindness and all-embracing vision of Divine Providence. There

ὀλκάδα ὅσον μιᾶς παλαιστῆς τὸ μέτρον ἐστίν. 7 οὐ συνεχώρησε δὲ τοῦτο ὁ τῶν ἀφανῶν γνώστης καὶ τῶν κρυφίων ἐξεαστῆς κύριος, ἀλλ' 30 ὡς εἶδε τὰς καρδίας ἀπάντων πάσης μὲν χρηστῆς ἀπειπούσας ἐλπίδος, αὐτῷ δὲ μόνῳ τὴν ἀμηχανίαν ἐμφανίζουσας τῷ πάντα δυναμένῳ μόνῳ τῷ βούλεσθαι, ἐπέβλεψεν ἐπ' αὐτούς, 8 καὶ εἰς πράξιαν μὲν αὖραν τὴν καταιγίδα, εἰς γαλήνην δὲ τὴν τῶν κυμάτων καταστορέσας τραχύτητα, ἔσωσεν αὐτούς ἐκ τοσούτου κινδύνου, πᾶσιν ἐμφαίνων, καὶ μόνον οὐχὶ 35 βοᾶν δεικνύων τὰ πράγματα, ὅπως ῥύεσθαι δύναται ὁ | τῶν θαυμασιῶν θεὸς τοὺς ἐν ἀληθείᾳ καὶ φόβῳ ἐπικαλουμένους αὐτόν.

77. Ἦδη δὲ μετὰ πέμπτην τοῦ πλοὸς ἡμέραν κατήραμεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῆς Κύπρου κατὰ τὸν ὄρμον τῆς Πάφου, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀνεθέντες μικρὸν ὡς ἐξελεῖν τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ τοῖς παρακειμένοις ὕδασι λούσασθαι· 40 2 πάλιν ἐκεῖθεν ἀναχθέντες μετὰ γε νυχθήμερον ἄλλο τὴν Τρίπολιν κατελάβομεν, κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἡμέραν καθ' ἣν ὑψοῦται τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον, ὅτε καὶ ἡμεῖς τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἄρτι πρῶτον ἐμέλλομεν πειρασμῶν ἀφεθῆναι. 3 γενομένων οὖν ἡμῶν πλησίον τοῦ τείχους, ἔχεϊτο περὶ τὸν ναύσταθμον ἀπάντων ἐγχωρίων βαρβάρων τὸ πλῆθος, 45 τοὺς μὲν οἰκείους προσλαμβανόμενον, τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ θαμβούμενον. 4 ἅμα γὰρ συνέβη πάσας τὰς τῆς πόλεως συνελθεῖν νῆας καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὄρμον γενέσθαι, εἴτα ἐξεκομίζετο ἀφ' ἐκάστης αὐτῶν τῶν τε χρημάτων τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν σκύλων ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τινων πόλεων, καὶ μετήγετο εἰς τινας προηυτρεπισμένας οἰκίας, ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ πληρωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν 50 τῆς τούτων ὑποδοχῆς. 5 προέφερον δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἄγοντες καθάπερ τι τρόπαιον νίκης, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἡμᾶς θριαμβεύοντες καὶ θέατρον ποιοῦμενοι τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς συμφορὰν. 6 οἶον γὰρ ἀνέκραγον καὶ τοῖς ἐξάλμασιν ἐπεσκίρτησαν, ὅτε πρὸς αὐτῇ γεγόναμεν τῇ εἰσόδῳ τῆς πόλεως, ἀφορμὴν θυμη|δίας τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν ὕβριν δεικνύμενοι. 7 ὁ δὲ καὶ πλείω τῶν 55 ἄλλων ὠδύνησεν ἡμᾶς, οὐκέτι φέροντας τῶν δεινῶν ἐκείνων καὶ τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης αἰσχύνης τὴν ἐπαλληλίαν ὑφίστασθαι. 8 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον τὸν θρίαμβον ἐκληρώθη τις οἶκος ἐν ᾧ φρουρεῖσθαι κατεκρίθημεν τηρηθησόμενοι τῆς πρὸς τὴν Ταρσὸν ἀφίξεως, τότε δὲ τῶν πολλῶν ἀνεθέντες πόνων καὶ τῇ γῇ τὰς κεφαλὰς προσερείσαντες 60 ἐδεόμεθα τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ δακρύων στῆναι ἡμῖν ποτε τὰ κακὰ καὶ μηκέτι χῶραν λαβεῖν καθ' ἡμῶν τοιούτων ὀχληρῶν ἐπίτασιν, ὧν καὶ ἡ ἀκοή

were, they said, considerably more than one thousand people on board that ship (what with the barbarians and the prisoners embarked at Crete and the additional persons taken on board for the reason given), with the result that the ship, though a merchantman, was within a hand's breadth of sinking below the water. But the Lord, who knows what is invisible and who searches out what is hidden,¹⁴⁰ did not allow it to happen, and when he saw that the hearts of all had abandoned all hope and were manifesting their helplessness to Him who by His will alone can do all things, He turned His face towards them. And He made the storm a gentle breeze,¹⁴¹ smoothed the harshness of the waves and saved them from so great a danger, making it clear to all and virtually causing inanimate nature to proclaim how the God of wonders can rescue those who call upon Him in truth and in fear.

§77. After our fifth consecutive day at sea we put in at Paphos on the island of Cyprus, where we had a short break while the barbarians disembarked and performed their ablutions in a stretch of water nearby. Then we put out to sea again and reached Tripoli¹⁴² after one whole day and one whole night, on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. It was then that we too were to experience some initial relief from our ordeal at sea. As we approached the city wall a crowd of local barbarians poured out on to the landing stage to receive their own people and to gape at us. All the city's ships had, in fact, converged simultaneously on the roadstead. Then the valuables and the rest of the booty were unloaded from each ship on a scale appropriate to the contents of several cities and transferred to storehouses that had been got ready in advance, so that in a short time the city was filled to capacity with these goods. They brought us out too, as a sort of victory trophy, and paraded us in front of everybody and made a public display of our misfortune. How they shouted and jumped up and down when we reached the entrance to the city, openly gloating at our humiliation! It hurt us more than anything else and we felt it unbearable that, so soon after all that we had been put through, we should find ourselves subjected to such gross indignity. But when, after this triumphal procession, a house was designated to which we were consigned to be held in detention until our departure for Tarsos, we were at last granted some respite from our many hardships and we bowed our heads to the ground and prayed to God with tears in our eyes that our misfortunes might finally cease and that we might not continue to be ravaged by a succession of woes so grievous that just to

μόνη μετήγετο διὰ πείρας ἔλθειν· 9 παντός γὰρ ἀλγεινοῦ φύσιν ἐκβέβηκεν. 10 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ἡμεῖς οἱ πρὸς τὴν καταλλαγὴν τηρούμενοι καὶ οἱ μεθ' ἡμῶν λαχόντες τῶν λοιπῶν αἰχμαλώτων κατὰ τὴν Τρί-
65 πολιν.

78. Οἱ δὲ γ' ἐν Κρήτῃ ἐξ ἡμῶν διαιρεθέντες ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ναυσὶ ταῖς ἀφ' ἐκάστου τόπου διεσπάρησαν καθ' ὅλης τῆς παραλίας Συρίας· 2 οὓς καὶ ὠνούμενοι πολλοὶ τῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ πάλιν μεταπιπράσκοντες κατὰ διαφόρους τόπους ἐν ἀλλήλοις μέχρι καὶ νῦν αὐτοὺς ἀνταμείβουσιν, ὥς
70 καὶ αὐτὴν φθάσαι τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς τὴν ἀκροτάτην μεσημβρίαν κατοικοῦντας βαρβάρους. 3 ὧν εἰ θελήσοι τις τὰς συμφορὰς ἀναγράφεσθαι, ὁμοῖος εἶναι δόξει τῷ τὴν παραλίαν ψάμμον ἐκμετρεῖν εἰκαίως τοπάσαντι. 4 πάντως γὰρ καὶ αὐτός, φιλομαθέστατε ἀνδρῶν, εἴπερ ἐνέτυχες τισιν ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἐν τε τῇ Δαμασκῷ καὶ ταῖς περὶ αὐτὴν
75 πόλεσιν (ἐνέτυχες γάρ, οἶδα, πολλοῖς ἐκεῖσε διὰ τὸ πάσας τὰς Τυρίας νῆας τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐκείνοις τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους αὐτῶν διασπείραι), ἔγνωσ ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν ὀλίγα τινὰ ἤδη τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς παθημάτων. 5 ἕω γὰρ λέγειν ὅτι καὶ ἡμῶν ἡ περὶ τὴν Τρίπολιν διαγωγὴ, ὅποτε διερχομένῳ σοι ἐκεῖθεν κατ' ἀρχὰς μικρὸν ἀνεγνωρίσθημεν, ἱκανῶς σε περὶ τούτων
80 πεπληροφόρηκε, καὶ σιωπῶντων ἡμῶν τὰ πράγματα παριστῶσα καὶ τὴν ὁδύνην τῶν ψυχῶν ταῖς μορφαῖς ἐξελέγχουσα. 6 ἐξ οὗ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς συμπαθήσας τότε καὶ ἐν τούτῳ κοινωνήσας ἡμῖν τοῦ πάθους ἐν τῷ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιήσασθαι μαθεῖν τὴν περὶ τούτων ἀκολουθίαν, ἔκδηλος ἐγένου τῇ λύπῃ πληγεὶς καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου τὴν καρδίαν ὀδυνηθεῖς.
85 7 πλὴν οὕτω ταῖς πολλαῖς καὶ ἀπείροις ἐκείναις τῶν πειρασμῶν ταλαιπωρήσαντες καταιγίσιν, καὶ οὐδὲν κρεῖττον οὐδ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Τριπόλει, παρ' ὅσον ἐν αὐτῇ διετρίψαμεν χρόνον, γενόμενοι, ἀλλὰ μόνον ὅσον τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ καὶ μοχθηροτέροις τισὶν ὁμιλήσαντες (ἐκεῖσε γὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ πατρὸς ἀπωφανίσθη, καθάπερ ἄλλην ἀρχὴν τῶν δεινῶν τὴν
90 ἐκείνου στέρησιν ἐφευράμενος), ὁμως μετὰ τὴν σὴν ἀναχώρησιν, οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον, προστάξει τοῦ τυράννου πάντες ὁμοῦ τῇ προτέρᾳ πάλιν βληθέντες νηὶ μετὰ καὶ τινων διακομιζόντων ἡμᾶς βαρβάρων ταύτην δὴ τὴν φρουρὰν τῆς Ταρσοῦ κατελάβομεν· 8 καὶ νῦν ἐσμέν ἐν μεθορίῳ δύο πραγμάτων | ἐλπιζομένων, ἡ τοῦ τυχεῖν τῆς πάλαι θρυλλουμένης διὰ
95 τῆς σωτηρίου καταλλαγῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως, ἡ τῷ θανάτῳ παραπεμφθῆναι καθ' ἐκάστην ἐφεστῶτι ταῖς συχναῖς ἀρρωστίαις καὶ ἄλλως τοῖς ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ πλησίον συνωκισμένῳ. 9 πλὴν οὐκ ἔχομεν ἀσφαλῶς γινώσκειν ὅποτέρῳ τούτων προτέρῳ διαλαχεῖν.

79. Ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ἐπιταγὴν ἤδη πεπλήρωκα, πάνυ θαυμάζων τὴν
5 σὴν ἀρετὴν, πῶς περὶ τούτων πεφιλοπόνηκας, ὥς καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων

hear of them was in a sense to experience them. For they far surpassed the measure of ordinary pain. So much, then, for those of us who were being held in connection with the exchange of prisoners and for all those other prisoners who had made it to Tripoli with us.

§78. Those who were separated from us on Crete and were put on to other ships which came from various other places were scattered all over the coast of Syria. They have been bought and sold by a whole series of slave-dealers doing business in different places and they are still changing hands, with the result that some of them have even reached Ethiopia and the barbarians that dwell in the extreme south. And if anyone wished to record their misfortunes he would be like a man trying to arrive by guesswork at the precise number of grains of sand on the seashore. You yourself, who have always been especially anxious to inform yourself about everything, if you have met any of them in Damascus or in the neighbouring cities (and you must, I know, have met many of them there, owing to the fact that the ships from Tyre have scattered their prisoners over the whole of that region), you will, no doubt, have acquainted yourself with a few of our many tragedies. That is, of course, not to mention the fact that our brief acquaintance in Tripoli, when we met you briefly for the first time as you were passing that way, gave you a fairly accurate picture of how these matters stood and conveyed to you the true situation behind our silence, betraying on our features the pain that was in our souls.¹⁴³ And indeed, ever since that occasion on which you showed sympathy and shared in our suffering by manifesting your concern to hear the full story of these events, it is clear that you have been deeply moved by our fate and uncommonly sensitive to our misfortunes. Yet, even after our long ordeal, we fared no better in Tripoli during the time we spent there; indeed, from my own point of view, we fared considerably worse since it was there that I lost my dear father (and finding myself without him was like the start of a fresh round of disasters). Nevertheless, not long after your departure, we were, on the instructions of the tyrant, all bundled once more into the ship on which we had previously sailed and taken under the escort of certain barbarians to our present place of confinement in Tarsos. And now we are at the crossroads between two expected outcomes: either we obtain our long-discussed release through the arrangement for the safe exchange of prisoners or we succumb to death, which stalks us daily in the form of frequent illnesses and is in various other ways a close and constant companion of those who are in prison. Only we have no way of telling which of these we shall encounter first.

§79. And so at last I have carried out your request. I am filled with admiration for your virtue, how you wished so ardently to learn of these

- παρορμησαι ἡμᾶς δὴλά σοι πάντα ποιήσασθαι τὰ περὶ τῆς ὁλώσεως
 τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς πόλεως, 2 οὐχ ἕνεκεν δέ τινος ἄλλου τὴν σὴν ἀξίωσιν
 ἐκπληρῶσαι δίκαιον κέκρικα, ἀλλ' ἵν' ἔχῃς ὑπόμνημα τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς
 φιλίας τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς συμφορὰν, αἰεὶ σε περικεντοῦσαν τοῖς
 10 ἀλγεινοῖς καὶ πρὸς τὸν ζῆλον τῶν καλῶν παραθήγουσαν. 3 πέφυκε
 γάρ πως ἡ μνήμη τῶν λυπηρῶν εἰς ἀρετὴν ἐνάγειν τῶν σπουδαίων τὸ
 φρόνημα, καὶ φοβερῶν πραγμάτων ἐξήγησις ψυχικὴν ἀσφάλειαν
 ἀπεργάζεσθαι. 4 ἀλλὰ μὴ τῇ ιδιωτείᾳ προσέχων τῆς συγγραφῆς τῶν
 ἐν αὐτῇ προσόντων τὴν ὠφέλειαν διαπτύσης, τῷ ἀτεχνεῖ δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ
 15 ἀνεπιτηδεύτῳ τῶν λεγομένων τὸ πιστὸν συνακολουθεῖν ἐννοούμενος
 εὐχαῖς ἡμᾶς ἀμείψασθαι τῇσδε τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως προθυμήθητι, τὸν
 κοινὸν δεσπότην ἐξιλεούμενος ἢ παρενεγκεῖν ἡμῖν τὰ δεινὰ ἢ καρτερῶς
 γε | φέροντας ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς αὐτοῦ δικαιοκρισίας τὸν τῆς ὑπομονῆς
 ἀξιῶσαι μισθόν.
- 20 Τέλος τῆς αξιομνημονεύτου ἱστορίας κυρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Καμινιάτου καὶ κουβουκλείου
 τῆς ἀγιωτάτης μητροπόλεως Θεσσαλονίκης, ἣν ὀφείλει πᾶς τις, μάλιστα δὲ Θεσσαλονι-
 κεὺς, ἱστοτατικῶς τε καὶ νουνεχῶς διελθεῖν ὡς πάνυ οὔσαν τό γε εἰς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν ἵκον
 ὠφέλειαν ἀρίστην τε καὶ λυσιτελεστάτην.

On the Capture of Thessaloniki

events that you actually wrote a letter¹⁴⁴ urging me to make clear to you everything that took place in regard to the capture of our city. But the only reason I considered it right to carry out your request was simply so that you might look upon our personal tragedy as a memento of our friendship, which, spurring you on with its painful reminiscences, would incite you to the emulation of good deeds. For the recollection of painful experiences tends, unaccountably, to point the well-intentioned in the direction of virtue and the narrative of dire calamities to make for steadfastness of soul. But do not allow yourself to be influenced by the clumsy and inadequate style of the writing so that you reject the moral utility of its content, and bearing in mind rather that its plain words and artless manner are attended by the utmost reliability, be so kind as to repay our endeavour with your prayers and prevail upon our Common Master either to avert disaster from us or, provided that we bear it all with fortitude, to reward our patience on the day of His righteous judgement.¹⁴⁵

Here ends the memorable account of John Kaminiates, a Kouboukleisios of the most holy metropolis of Thessaloniki. Everyone, especially every native of Thessaloniki, ought to read it through carefully and attentively, since it is most excellent and most profitable to the good of one's soul.¹⁴⁶

ENDNOTES

- ¹ For Gregory of Kappadokia see Part I of the Introduction.
- ² Cf. Psalms 110.10: 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.'
- ³ Cf. Psalms 33.15; 36.27: 'Depart from evil and do good' and I Peter 3.11: 'Let him eschew evil, and do good'.
- ⁴ Cf. Romans 5.12: 'Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin'; also James 1.15: 'Then when lust hath conceived it bringeth forth sin, and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death.'
- ⁵ Cf. Proverbs 3.18: 'She is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her.'
- ⁶ Kaminiates and his fellow prisoners were held at Tarsos in Kilikia, awaiting the outcome of negotiations for an exchange of prisoners. Since the last dated previous event is their arrival in the Syrian city of Tripoli on the 14th of September 904, they must have reached Tarsos by early November at the latest (*cf.* Introduction). Kaminiates gives us no clear indication of how long they were detained in Tripoli. Tarsos was in his day largely Muslim and Arabic-speaking. It was a frontier town close to Byzantine territory, so its choice as a holding point is not surprising.
- ⁷ Antioch on-the-Orontes in Syria. Founded in 300 B.C. by Seleukos I Nikator, a former general of Alexander the Great, as a centre for military control and for the diffusion of Hellenism in Syria, it became one of the earliest centres of Christianity. Throughout the Late Antique and Early Byzantine periods its prosperity, administrative status and Patriarchal See combined to ensure its importance as a major cultural and religious centre. It was also often a focal point for theological controversy and political unrest. In 904, however, Antioch had experienced nearly three centuries of Arab rule and had sunk to the level of a small town, important chiefly as a strategically located strong point in an area of frequent border warfare. We are not told why Gregory and his fellow Kappadokians were sent on to Antioch and what fate befell them there, but they appear to have formed a different category of prisoner. It is a not implausible inference from the general tenor of Kaminiates' text that Gregory had already regained his freedom at the time of writing.
- ⁸ Byzantine Macedonia was an ethnically mixed area at this time. Slavs predominated in the rural areas, while the cities served as centres for the preservation and transmission of the dominant culture which emanated from Constantinople and from the centres of provincial administration.

⁹ From the time of the bishopric of Alexander at Thessaloniki we are on reasonably firm historical ground, since his name is attested in a list of the bishops who attended the Council of Nicaea in 325 (Mansi II, 881). Pope Siricius (384-399) first formally appointed the bishop of Thessaloniki as his vicar of Illyricum, empowering him thereby to consecrate other bishops for all the cities of Illyricum. This vicariate was renewed by successive Popes and became a well-established institution (Mansi, VIII, 749-72, reference in Jones, 1964, II, 888-9 and n. 38). This situation continued until 732 or 733, when the Greek emperor Leo III transferred jurisdiction over the see of Thessaloniki to the increasingly powerful patriarchate of Constantinople (*ODB* 3, 2071).

The list of bishops and archbishops from Alexander to John, who occupied the see of Thessaloniki at the time of the Arab attack in 904, contains a total of thirty-five names (Le Quien II, 1740; Petit 1900-1901, IV, 136-145; Tafali 1994, 190-208). John is mentioned in the 'Leo Chitzilakes' sea wall inscription of 904 as 'archbishop of Thessaloniki and a native' (Chatzi Ioannou 1881, 18; Spieser 1973, 162-3). John is also previously referred to as bishop of Thessaloniki in 892, the date of St. Theodora's death (*Life of St. Theodora*, 25-26).

¹⁰ Scholarly opinion has been divided over the precise theological context in which Thessaloniki first gained the reputation for being a bastion of orthodoxy which Kaminiates claims that it enjoyed. Rejecting an earlier view that it was the city's opposition to Arianism that had originally earned it this reputation, Tafel (1839, 51-55) saw the struggle against Iconoclasm as the starting point in the establishment of such a claim. More recently Bonis (1969, 54-56; 111-127) has sought to enlist inscriptional and iconographic evidence in support of Tafel's hypothesis. He contends that it was the *droungarios* Leo, the father of the missionaries Cyril and Methodius, who as governor of Thessaloniki during the reign of Theophilos and Theodora (829-842) was instrumental in the rebuilding of the Basilica of St. Demetrios and the commissioning of the three portraits that may be seen above the inscription (for which see Spieser, 1973, 155 f.) commemorating the event. Bonis regards the act of decorating the basilica with likenesses of the saints as a manifestation of the triumph of orthodoxy in Thessaloniki. He is alone, however, in proposing so late a date for the restoration and decoration of the church. This is an event which a majority of art historians (Cormack 1969, 44; Bakirtzis 1985, 1053; Chatzidakis 1983, 271) would date to the 7th century.

It is, however, a matter of historical record that Leo the Philosopher or Mathematician, who was archbishop of Thessaloniki from 840 until 843,

was an iconoclast, though a moderate one; he was 'loved and admired' by the citizens (Theoph. Cont. 191; Ps.-Sym. 640). Even before Iconoclasm, there is evidence that shows that bishops of Thessaloniki might hold or espouse heretical views. During the reign of the monophysite emperor Anastasius (491-518), the archbishop Dorotheos had accepted the views of the heretical patriarch Akakios; as a result, relations between the Pope and the Archbishop became extremely strained (Mansi X, 552, Jaffé 1851, 838-61). Around the middle of the 7th century, papal letters reveal that a certain Paul, archbishop of Thessaloniki, when accused by Pope Martin of monothelitism, refused to relinquish his office (Mansi, X, 833, 849; Jaffé, 1851, 2071); the Pope then requested the faithful to discontinue all communion with the heretical archbishop.

Kaminiates' words, however, should be understood in the context in which they occur, where he appears to be animated by a powerful combination of local patriotism and nostalgia for his native city and to be expressing himself loosely for the benefit of his addressee, Gregory of Kappadokia. In the circumstances it would be unreasonable to fault him for having been somewhat economical with the truth. In any case, he must in his childhood have heard from people of his grandparents' generation tales of the last wave of Iconoclast persecution, of the heroic resistance and piety of the good citizens of Thessaloniki and of the eventual triumph of orthodoxy. The popular recollection is both selective and prone to amnesia according to the needs of the moment. And it is perhaps worth pointing out that the ordinary citizen of early-tenth-century Thessaloniki who prided himself on his and his city's orthodoxy, and for whom the struggle against heresy must have been epitomized by the final overthrow within living memory of Iconoclasm, was wholly innocent of the modern academic disciplines of Ecclesiastical History, Art History, and Historical Theology. Categories of thought so inherently alien to the present context can do little to elucidate it. Moreover, the cult of St. Demetrios must have been particularly hard hit during the Iconoclast Period since, untypically, there was as yet no cult of the saint's relics in existence at the time.

¹¹ See map in Böhlig 1975, p.141.

¹² Böhlig 1975, *ibid.*

¹³ The north side. The writer at this point in his description is imagining himself as facing east.

¹⁴ Now lakes Koronia and Volvi.

¹⁵ This plain is depicted by the author as extending westwards, so for 'right' and 'left' in this text one must now understand: 'north' and 'south' (cf. note 13).

¹⁶ Beroia, the Beroea of *Acts* chapter 17 verses 10 and 13 (the modern Veria) is situated 75 km to the east of Thessaloniki on the Via Egnatia. The town is built on a plateau near the east foot of Mt. Vermion. Evidence from the early 10th century makes it clear that Beroia was protected by walls, and that it was administratively subject to Thessaloniki (*Life of St. Theodora*, 227). In 900 the city was severely damaged by an earthquake (see §14). There is sufficient literary and archaeological evidence to prove that by Kaminiates' time Beroia was an urban centre, and that it had both a flourishing economy and a strong cultural tradition (Christophilopoulou 1983a, 261).

¹⁷ The phrase itself and the context in which it is found have caused problems of interpretation among scholars. Their views as to what Kaminiates meant by the expression 'mixed villages' may be divided into four groups.

a) Kyriakides (1939a, 10 and 1946, 30) maintains that the meaning of Kaminiates' phrase is clear: the Slavic tribes Drougoubitai and Sagoudatoi together with Greeks made up the mixed population of a few villages that were scattered among a larger number of purely Greek villages located in the plain between Thessaloniki and Beroia. He takes the word καὶ ('and') in the expression καὶ ἀμφιμίκτους τινὰς κώμας to mean that there were other villages which were not mixed but entirely Greek. The conjunction καὶ here will make better sense if it is not taken as emphatic to the adjective 'mixed' but as introducing a new idea or item in addition to those already enumerated earlier in the same chapter. Moreover, the word τινὰς in the same phrase does not mean 'a few', as Kyriakides thinks, but an indefinite number of villages, i.e. they can be many, several, or only a few; the word τινες, frequently employed by Kaminiates throughout his narrative is used as a marker of plurality combined with indefiniteness, and it is often untranslatable. Zakythinos (1945, 31 and 1972, 132) expresses some reservation as to whether any Greeks also inhabited these villages, in addition to the Drougoubitai and the Sagoudatoi. But Vakalopoulos (1980, 637) and Karayannopoulos (1983, 279) maintain that the Greeks and the Slavs inhabited ethnically mixed communities.

b) Theocharides (1980, 185) believes that Kaminiates is not speaking of villages which contained a purely Slavic population, but only of those villages in which the population was mixed in one way or another, with Drougoubitai and Greeks in some, and Sagoudatoi and Greeks in others. He agrees with Kyriakides that the force of καὶ is to denote the existence of purely Greek villages in the plain. Moreover, the adjective ἀμφιμίκτους, which is a *hapax* used by Kaminiates only, would not make sense if it

described just the two Slavic tribes and did not include Greeks as an ethnically different group.

c) For Charanis (1976, 17) the Drougoubitai and Sagoudatoi lived together in the same villages. Tsaras (1985, 1990), who believes the Drougoubitai and Sagoudatoi were not Slavs but Latin-speaking Celts, argues that their population was reduced in number and forced to mix in small villages by Justinian II during his expedition of 688/9; he also suggests that these tribes may have been christianized at that time (*cf.* also Dvornik, 1926a, 235). Spieser (1984, 15 f.) argues that Kaminiates mentions only Slavic villages whose inhabitants are either Drougoubitai or Sagoudatoi; as tributaries to the imperial authorities these villages, according to Spieser, show no sign of integration but retain a status they had two centuries earlier.

d) In the opinion of a number of other scholars, Kaminiates' use of 'mixed' does not refer to a mixed population within each village but rather to distinct Slavic villages which were interspersed among Greek villages throughout the plain. According to Svoronos (1979, 342), the Sagoudatoi villages were situated to the west and the Drougoubitai villages to the north-west of Thessaloniki; the native Greek population dwelt in their own villages within a close distance from the Slavic settlements and cultivated peaceful relations with them. Ahrweiler (1983, 275 f.) considers the 'mixed villages' a typical example of organization whereby the Byzantine and Slavic elements coexisted; the *archontiae* into which the Slavs were organized from the time of their settling on Balkan lands constituted a similar vehicle. Christophilopoulou (1983, 33 f.; *cf.* Lemerle II, 1981, 187) traces the phenomenon of Byzantino-Sklavene coexistence back to the late 7th century and cites the example of the Hellenized Perboundos, King of the Rynchinoi, as indicative of the process of Slavic assimilation (*Miracula* I, 209, 29).

Kaminiates does not provide any further informative details about the geographic distribution or the size of these 'mixed villages'. There is every reason to assume, however, that the Sagoudatoi and Drougoubitai whom he mentions in this passage basically kept their settlements in the form in which these are known from the 7th-century sources, the former lying to the west and the latter to the north-west of Thessaloniki (Christophilopoulou 1983, 33). The existence of a Drougoubitia which was located to the north of Beroia and the north-west of Thessaloniki (see note 18) is also sufficient evidence that the Drougoubitai villages lay more in the northern and the Sagoudatoi villages in the southern part of the Thessaloniki-Beroia plain.

Moreover, there is some agreement among scholars as to the general pattern of the Slavic settlements in the Balkans. It is generally accepted that Slavic colonies were neither compact nor contiguous, but were planted like islets in the midst of a more or less dense indigenous population (Zakythinos 1945, 33; Charanis 1976, 12 f.; Lemerle II, 1981, 236). If that was the case, then individual villages or clusters of villages belonging to the Sagoudatoi and Drougoubitai would be interspersed among Greek villages lying within a short distance from each other (Tapkova-Zaimova, 1962, 76; Ahrweiler, 1983, 272). If the above is an accurate description of the situation, a more likely meaning of Kaminiates' elusive expression 'mixed villages' would be separate villages of different population located close to each other rather than villages with a mixed population in each village, as the scholars in the first three groups have suggested.

If, however, the 'mixed population' interpretation is accepted, then obviously it should be assumed that the Slavic tribes, the Drougoubitai and the Sagoudatoi, at some time before 904 must have moved and mingled in communities which had become spread throughout the plain, either on their own initiative or perhaps because they were forced by the imperial policy which certain Byzantine emperors implemented in the Macedonian Sklavinias. Unfortunately, however, there is no concrete evidence, whether historical or archaeological, which might support such an interpretation.

[Translator's Note:

Kaminiates' phrase refers not to 'mixed *villagers*' but to 'mixed *villages*', i.e. 'a mixture of villages'. That is the simple, literal and obvious sense of ἀμφιμίκτους τινὰς κώμας and it should not be lost sight of. The conjunction καὶ merely adds a further detail in Kaminiates' enumeration of the various features both physical and human which constitute his description of the plain.

The strong adversative force of the word πλὴν with which the next sentence begins, is important. The ethnic discreteness of the tribal villages is an obstacle to communication, but (πλὴν) their close physical proximity encourages it. This interpretation is close to but not identical with the view expressed in d) above. That Greek villages formed a further element in this patchwork is not inherently impossible, since it is neither affirmed nor denied by what Kaminiates tells us here.]

¹⁸ These Slavic tribes are first mentioned in the *Miracula* of St. Demetrios (Lemerle 1979, I, 175.1 and 5) in connection with the siege of Thessaloniki

by a coalition of Slavic groups which took place either in 614 (Lemerle II, 1981, 91f.) or in 615 (Christophilopoulou, 1983, 252) or perhaps even in 616 (Popović 1980, 248). Following their lack of success some of the Slavic tribes, among them the Drougoubitai and the Sagoudatoi, settled in the hinterland of Thessaloniki (Lemerle II, 1981, 89f., 185). It is difficult to determine their precise and definitive location in any period but especially in the early 7th century. As Lemerle suggests (II, 1981, 89, n.111) it is also possible that these tribes were forced to draw back from the vicinity of Thessaloniki as a result of later Byzantine campaigns against them.

Some modern historians place the Drougoubitai to the west of Thessaloniki in the plain between that city and Beroia (modern Veria) as Kaminiates attests (Niederle 1923, 160; Vasmer 1941, 177; Charanis 1970, 21; Svoronos 1979, 334 f.; *ODB*, I, 622). To several scholars the location of the Drougoubitai colony depends on the location of the *campus Keramesius* in which Kouver was allowed to settle his followers, probably in the early 680's (*Miracula* I, 228.28-229.2; Lemerle II, 1981, 147-62). When Kouver's people came in contact with the Drougoubitai, who as close neighbours (παράκειμενοι) had received an imperial order to supply provisions to them, they soon discovered that Thessaloniki was situated not far away (*Miracula* I, 229.12-15; *Chr. Pasch.* I, 712-3). The localization of the *Keramesios* plain has been an issue of debate. Several modern scholars place it to the north-west of Thessaloniki and identify it with the Pelagonian plain between Herakleia, the modern Bitolja, and Stoboi, the modern Prilep (Tafel 1839, XCVIII, n. 76 referring to the *Tabula Peutingeriana*); Tapkova-Zaimova 1962, 76; Dujčev 1964, 216; Grigoriou-Ioannidou 1981, 70, n.4; Lemerle II, 1981, 122; Ahrweiler 1983, 274). Thus the Drougoubitai settlement, in the opinion of these scholars, should be placed to the northwest of Thessaloniki and to the north of Beroia in the direction of the *Keramesios* plain (Lemerle II, 1981, 148). According to certain Greek scholars the *Keramesios* plain could not have been the Pelagonian plain which is 180 km away from Thessaloniki, but a less distant plain in the vicinity of Thessaloniki and Beroia, such as the plain of Yannitsa (Theocharides 1980, 183; Tsaras 1985, 195 n.42). Another group of Drougoubitai settled in Thrace near Philippopolis (*ODB* I, 662).

There is little evidence concerning the location of the Sagoudatoi other than the brief comment by Kaminiates. Most scholars maintain that these lived very close and somewhat to the south of the Drougoubitai (Vasmer 1941, 177; Lemerle II, 1981, 90). Vasmer (1941, 197-214) has identified 94 Slavonic toponyms in the Pella district and another 152 place names in the Thessaloniki district from the lower Vardar to eastern Chalkidiki.

The name Drougoubitai appears in Byzantine sources spelled also as Drogoubitai and Dragoubitai and bears a close affinity to the Dregovichi of the *Primary Chronicle* of Kiev, the author of which lived in the 10th century north of the Pripet river (Const. Porph. *de adm. imp.* 62, 105-109, commentary, 60). The origin of the name has been traced to *dregva* meaning 'marsh' (Vasmer 1941, 177; Dujčev 1964, 215-21); a Turkic derivation has also been suggested (Pritsak 1983, 404).

The name and origin of the Sagoudatoi have received much scrutiny. Certainly their name is not Slavic. It has been linked to an eastern group of Turkic or Tataric origin (Vasmer 1941, Lemerle II, 1981, 116 and 233); they may have been descendants of earlier non-Slavic invaders who were absorbed by the more numerous Slavs as in the case of the Bulgarians. Anna Komnena (*Alex.* I.2.4.) mentions a town called 'Sagoudaous' in Asia Minor. Some Greek historians reject the Slavic lineage of the Sagoudatoi and propose various origins: Neo-Latins or Vlachs (Kyriakides 1939, 38-39, n.9; Theocharides 1980, 181-2), Celto-Illyrians (Liakos 1971, 21), Latin-speaking Celts (Tsaras 1985, 190-200).

References to the Macedonian Drougoubitai are found in 9th-century and later documents. Among the signatories who participated in the Council of 879 a bishop, Peter of Drougoubitia, is listed and is ranked between the bishops of Beroia and Servia (Oikonomides 1972, 357f.). The bishopric of Drougoubitia was under the jurisdiction of the Thessaloniki Metropolis (Dvornik 1926, 236; Tapkova-Zaimova 1972, 359). It is located by some scholars in the Rhodope mountains (Jireček 1877, 72; Lemerle 1945, 116; Karayannopulos 1988, 320); others place it in the territory of the Drougoubitai situated to the north-west of Thessaloniki (Dujčev 1964, 215-21; Oikonomides 1974, 291, n.35; Tapkova-Zaimova 1975, 118; Ahrweiler 1983, 275 f.). The modern village of Episkope between Naousa and Skydra has also been identified as its seat (Chionides II, 1970, 159; Liakos 1971, 80). In 894 the diocese of Dragvista (Dragbiste) was confirmed to St. Clement of Ochrid by the khan Symeon. It has been suggested that the Dragvistoi should be identified with the Drougoubitai who lived north of Beroia, and that some of them were tributaries to Bulgaria (Kaminiates §6; Gauthier 1964, 199-214; Karlin-Hayter 1965, 610). The Drougoubitai, probably located to the north-west of Thessaloniki, are mentioned as a district under a *strategos* in the 10th century *Taktikon Escorial* together with those of Beroia, Edessa and New Strymon (Oikonomides 1974, 291, n. 3). In an Athonite document of 996 a certain Nicholas is named as '*protospatharios* and judge of Strymon,

Thessaloniki and Drougoubitia' (*Ivir.* no. 10.2). A village of Dragobountoi is mentioned in a monastic charter of 897 (*Lavra* I no. 1. 15-18).

¹⁹ This is the earliest and the only specific reference to the Drougoubitai and Sagoudatoi as tributaries to the Byzantine authorities. Their tributary status is dated back to the late 7th century (*Miracula*, 209.1-211.16; 229.11-12) and is linked to the expedition of Constans II against Sklavinia in 658 during which he 'subjugated' (ὑπέταξε) a large number of Slavs (Theoph. 347.6); Tapkova-Zaimova (1964, 118-120; 1972, 357-59) draws the inference that Sklavinia must have included the Drougoubitai and Sagoudatoi whose submission was to the imperial fisc (see also Charanis 1970a, 238 and 1970, 11-13; Theocharides 1980, 170). On the other hand Lemerle (II, 1981, 130 and 148-49) thinks that Constans' Sklavinia did not include Macedonia but only Thrace, and that perhaps the submission of the Macedonian Slavs should be attributed to Constantine IV's Balkan policy. According to another view these tribes began to pay tribute after Justinian II's expedition against Sklavinia in 688/9 (Theoph. 364; Tsaras 1985, 191). As tributaries these Slavonic tribes were allowed to keep their own leaders (*archontes, rheges*) and their military obligations were either non-existent or merely theoretical (Tapkova-Zaimova, 1964, 120; Nasledova 1959, 230).

Staurakios' campaign of 782/3 (Theoph., 456.25f.) was the most decisive event which reduced the Slavonic tribes in the environs of Thessaloniki to tributary status (ὑπόφοροι). It is not certain, however, if the Drougoubitai and Sagoudatoi were among these subjugated tribes; if they were, then they must have revolted and reverted to an autonomous state before 782/3, and the event must have remained unrecorded in the extant sources (Lemerle II, 1981, 188).

²⁰ Kaminiates consistently refers to the Bulgarians as Scythians (*cf* §8), and to the Slavs as Sklavenes. Archaizing Byzantine writers often use the Herodotean name 'Scythians' to describe the tribes that once lived in the region beyond the Danube river, as the Bulgaro-Slavs did (Moravcsik II, 1958, 280).

Opinions differ widely concerning the identity of those who paid tribute to the Bulgarians. According to some scholars, the tax payers were the Drougoubitai and the Sagoudatoi, whom Kaminiates described as dwelling in mixed village communities; some of them also paid taxes to Thessaloniki (Tapkova-Zaimova 1969, 64; Theocharides 1980, 185; Spieser 1984, 15). Others suggest that it was only a section of the Drougoubitai who paid tribute to the Bulgarians (Karlin-Hayter 1965, 609, n.2; Tapkova-Zaimova 1972, 360, who in this article revised her

earlier views). Runciman (1930, 151; but *cf.* also Browning 1975, 115) wrongly believes that Kaminiates meant that all the Greek cities of Macedonia were tributaries to Bulgaria. Dvornik (1926a, 235) thinks that Kaminiates meant only Byzantine villages as tributaries to the Strymon Slavs. Both Zlatarski (I.2, 1927, 229-30) and Svoronos (1979, 342) maintain that other Slavic groups are here considered to be paying tribute to Bulgaria. Svoronos does not specify exactly which groups are to be understood, but Zlatarski identifies them with the Smoleanoi, Rhynchinoi and Strymonitai.

Kaminiates specifies the Slavic tribes, Drougoubitai and Sagoudatoi, who lived in mixed villages in Thessaloniki's western plain and paid tribute to the Byzantine authorities; the same author does not, however, identify any of the inhabitants of the 'other mixed villages' which were tributary to the Bulgarians. Obviously these latter villages must have been situated to the northern regions of the plain since they were near the Bulgarian borderline. The Bulgarian frontier at this time could not have been as far south as Beroia but farther to the north (see note 21). Moreover, the Drougoubitai in the 7th century were most likely located to the north-west of Thessaloniki in the plain between Yannitsa and Edessa (see note 18). The Sagoudatoi, on the other hand, were generally placed to the south of the Drougoubitai settlement and in the vicinity of Beroia. So they, the Sagoudatoi, could not have been living in mixed villages close to the Bulgarian border. That leaves the Drougoubitai and some other ethnic group, Slavic or perhaps Greek, as the other component of Kaminiates' 'other mixed villages'.

It is not known when and how these communities near the Bulgarian frontier came to be tributary to a neighbouring state. These Slavic communities have been regarded as a sort of a dependency distinct from the area inhabited by the tributaries to Thessaloniki (Karin-Hayter 1965, 609; Tapkova-Zaimova 1964, 122, n.50). Lemerle (1945, 140) conjectures that the Macedonian communities (he calls them 'villes') were forced to pay tribute to the Bulgarians by the khan Symeon, who had raided Macedonia during the 894/96 Byzantino-Bulgarian trade war.

²¹ The only time that the Bulgarian borderline was clearly defined was in the thirty year peace treaty concluded in 815/6 between Byzantium and Bulgaria following the long wars with Krum (Beševliev 1963, no. 41, 190-206; Treadgold 1988, 217 n. 296). During this peace period, Bulgaria was able, it seems, to extend its borders to the south at the expense of Byzantine territory and to the west at the expense of the Sklavinias established there. Ostrogorsky holds that that dates it between 831 and

842 (CMH IV, 2nd ed. Part I, 1966, 498; see Treadgold 1988, 336: map showing the Byzantine borders running north of but not far from Serres and Beroia). There was a further expansion, it seems, southwards and westwards under the khan Boris I (852/889) who overran parts of Macedonia and then reached the 'northernmost peaks of Pindus' according to Browning (1975, 54-5; see map preceding the Preface). The lack of any specificity that characterizes the available sources with respect to Symeon's raids into Macedonia as far as Dyrrachion following his victory at Boulgarophygon in 896 would only allow us to speculate as to the exact time, position and the ruler responsible for the actuality described by Kaminiates.

²² Like some other phrases in this chapter, this also has caused problems to modern historians who disagree as to which parties traded with each other. A substantial number of scholars maintain that the trading partners were Thessaloniki and Bulgaria (Nasledova 1959, 221 f.; Karlin-Hayter 1965, 608f.; Tsaras 1985, 183; Ahrweiler 1983, 276). Some historians, however, wish to add the Slavic villages as participants or intermediaries in the trade between Thessalonians and Bulgarians (Zlatarski I.1, 1918, 329; Tapkova-Zaimova 1972, 36). In fact, Svoronos thinks that it was the Slavic villages, as tributaries to the Bulgarians, that facilitated the commercial transactions of Thessaloniki with the latter (1979, 342). Vakalopoulos suggests that the Slavic villages, because of their proximity to the Greek villages, developed close commercial relations with each other (1980, 638); Struck, moreover, understands that commercial activity had been carried out between the Slavic villages and Thessaloniki (1905, 540, 548, n.2; also Charanis 1976, 17).

When Kaminiates talks about trade between Thessaloniki and the 'Scythians' he uses the verb συναμείγνυσθαι, which conveys the idea that there were other groups who participated in the trade conducted by the main partners, Thessaloniki and Bulgaria: these groups apparently were the 'mixed villages' of Slavs and Greeks occupying the western plain. Kaminiates wishes to emphasize the fact that due to the harmonious coexistence between the Slavic and Greek populations and as a result of a long and stable peace in the region, all the parties involved, Greeks, Slavs and Bulgarians, were reaping the benefits of their commercial relations.

It has, however, been pointed out that Kaminiates says nothing about the Bulgaro-Byzantine War (894-96) which, according to Spieser (1984 23, n.123) was a war fought over the commerce of Thessaloniki. Scholars who have dealt with the war generally interpret the relevant text in *Theophanes Continuatus* (357.14.f.) to mean that the transfer of Bulgarian

trade from Constantinople to Thessaloniki by the Byzantine government provided the khan Symeon with the reason for declaring war on Byzantium (Zlatarski I.2, 1927, 286; Runciman 1930, 144; Bratianu 1940, 31; Antoniadis-Bibicou 1966, 140 f.). For Ahrweiler the decision to transfer the Bulgarian trade was aimed at creating 'suitable conditions for the growth of international trade in Thessaloniki' (1988, 277). According to Oikonomides (1991, 246f.) the transfer of the Bulgarian market to Thessaloniki in 893 was part of the emperor Leo's decentralization policy; Symeon protested mainly against the unfair treatment of the Bulgarian merchants by the *kommerkiarioi* among whom probably were Staurakios and Kosmas, both of them merchants from Hellas. Magdalino (1990, 201) interprets the transfer of trading facilities for Bulgarian merchants as an act of piety and benefaction by Leo to the city of his patron St. Demetrios.

Karayannopoulos (1991, 25-46), in a full re-examination of the issue, argues against the interpretation of a geographic transfer of the Bulgarian trade and instead puts forth a new interpretation based on version A of the text in *Theophanes Continuatus* (853.4 f.; see Hunger I, 1978, 349) in which the verb is διέστησαν, 'set apart', 'singled out', in place of the μετέστησαν, 'transferred', of version B. Accordingly, the Byzantines in Thessaloniki singled out the Bulgarian goods and set them at a higher duty rate (κακῶς ... κομμερκεύειν; see also Skylitzes 173.83 and Zonaras III, 442.16), a measure which offered Symeon an excuse for engaging in military action and expansion.

It is difficult to believe that Symeon stayed away from Thessaloniki and its region during the entire war which, according to certain scholars (Bratianu 1940, 32; Nasledova 1959, 221; Bohling 1975, 114, n. 29), did not officially end until 904, shortly after Thessaloniki fell to the Arabs.

The evidence for the war, such as it is, confirms Kaminiates' claim, and clearly shows that Symeon limited most of his military activities to Thrace and to the northeastern Balkans; in his advance west as far as Dyrrachion in 989 the khan did not stay in Macedonia. In the opinion of Karayannopoulos, neither in 989 nor in 904 did Symeon harbour any plans to take Thessaloniki, although the circumstances for doing so were quite favourable, especially in 904; his overriding ambition was to capture Constantinople and wear the imperial crown (1991, 44, n. 87 and 45). According to Ahrweiler (1983, 277), it was the shrewd Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos who succeeded in dissuading Symeon from fulfilling his ambition of capturing Thessaloniki and its hinterland (see *Letters* no. 27) in the course of the trade war.

Whatever Symeon's intentions for Thessaloniki might have been, the war obviously did not affect either the peaceful conditions which existed in the Thessaloniki area or the trade between the various partners, as Kaminiates' account and the recorded events of the war indicate. The merchants, Bulgarians, Slavs, Greeks and others, had no difficulty in using the Thessaloniki-Axios-Morava-Danube and the Amphipolis-Serdica-Danube routes to conduct their local or transit trade with Thessaloniki. In addition to these trade routes, commercial exchanges were facilitated by the creation of the Strymon theme in the 9th century and by the existence of a well organized customs depot under the jurisdiction of customs officials who were called *kommerkiarioi* and *abydikoi* (Antoniadis-Bibicou 1966, 225 f.; Christophilopoulou 1983, 51-55; Karayannopoulos 1988, 327-28; Oikonomides 1991, 244-47).

²³ A reference to two parties (ἐκατέρων) involved in an exchange of goods, namely, Thessaloniki as a commercial and industrial centre supported by the producers of the western plain, on the one hand, and the 'Scythians', the Bulgarians, on the other.

The market of Thessaloniki with its widely known fair held on the feast of St. Demetrios on October 26th attracted the largest crowd of merchants and merchandise from other parts of Byzantium and countries far beyond its borders (*Timarion*, 53-55). Important trade routes linked Thessaloniki with the Balkans, the West and the East: the Vardar-Morava-Danube (Belgrade) and the Amphipolis-Sofia-Danube routes were the city's links with the Slavic populations in the north Balkans and beyond; the Via Egnatia began in Dyrrachion (modern Durazzo or Durrës), passed through Thessaloniki and ended in Constantinople (Runciman 1930, 143).

Thessaloniki, as an international market centre, had been provided by the Imperial government with a customs depot and with general or royal *kommerkiarioi*, state officials who regulated the economic life of the city. The lead seals with the names and high titles of these customs officials which survive are dated from the 7th to the 12th century (Antoniadis-Bibicou 1963, 225 ff.; Zacos-Veglery I,2, 1972, lists 15 seals from the 8th and 14 seals from the 9th century). A *kommerkion* or customs duty of 10% was collected on imports and exports. In addition *abydikoi*, special port officials, and *vardarioi*, officers in charge of the river commerce in the Thessaloniki area, are attested on 9th-century lead seals (Oikonomides 1991, 244-47).

Kaminiates is a valuable source for information concerning the circulation and likely production of certain handicrafts in Thessaloniki:

gold, silver, precious stones, silk and woollen fabrics, copper, tin, iron, lead and glass were available in the market in large quantities (§9); a huge amount of silk and linen fabrics was loaded on the Arab ships as ransom (§58). On the basis of Kaminiates' evidence it has been suggested that in Thessaloniki there was a flourishing silk industry (Heyd I, 1885, 53, n.3; Browning 1975, 105), as well as a thriving metal-working industry (Karayannopoulos 1988, 328). Thessaloniki provided a great variety of luxury goods which were either produced in the city itself or brought from other production centres.

In the time of Kaminiates Bulgaria was a natural economy, with no industry or markets worthy of any note (Browning 1975, 111). Trade which took place between Thessaloniki and Bulgaria was based on barter, as indicated by Kaminiates' use of the verb ἀμείβουσι, 'exchange', and confirmed by sources that are almost contemporary: the Arab historian, al-Masudi, writing in the first half of the 10th century, points out that Bulgarians paid in oxen and sheep for the goods that they bought (Browning 1975, 111); the *Book of the Eparch* (IX, 6) states that the trade between Byzantines and Bulgarians was based on barter. Bulgarian producers preferred to exchange their surplus goods, mostly raw materials, for luxury items which they could easily procure in Byzantine markets like that of Thessaloniki.

Bulgarian merchants brought to the Thessaloniki market raw materials: hides, honey, flax and linen, and also slaves as cheap labour for homes, industry and farming. (Nasledova 1959, 223; Browning 1975, 109; Svoronos 1979, 339). In exchange the Bulgarians bought, it seems, textiles of various kinds, of wool, flax and silk; also gold and silver plate and other luxury items such as jewellery (Nasledova 1959, 223; Browning 1975, 109).

Commercial relations between Byzantium and Bulgaria were first regulated in the treaty of 715/6: the final clause of this treaty specifies that merchants of either state, when they enter each other's territory, are required to carry a sort of 'passport' (Theoph. 497.26). The requirement of certification was repeated later in 813 by the khan Krum in his proposals for peace to the emperor Michael I (Theoph. 497.18; see also Miller, 1971, 66-7).

²⁴ The identification of the parties that lived in stable peace has been a matter of debate among scholars. Nasledova (1959 221-22; see also Karlin-Hayter 1965, 608 and Tsaras 1985, 183) maintains that here Kaminiates is referring to the long and stable peace which was enjoyed by Thessaloniki and Bulgaria after the 815 peace treaty concluded between

Bulgaria and Byzantium, and especially after the christianization of the Bulgarians in 864 (see Kaminiates §6). The events of the trade war (894-96) between the khan Symeon and Byzantium did not affect, according to Nasledova, the good relations between Thessaloniki and Bulgaria.

In the opinion of certain other scholars, however, the reference is to the Slav-speaking population of the western plain and the Thessalonians who had been on good terms for a long time (Struck 1905, 540; Tapkova-Zaimova 1972, 360; Ahrweiler 1983, 276).

A third interpretation has been offered by scholars who maintain that Kaminiates means the peaceful symbiosis between the Slavic groups, the Drougoubitai and Sagoudatoi, and the Greek population who were all living in the same region (Kyriakides 1939, 10; Svoronos 1979, 342; Vakalopoulos 1980, 638; Christophilopoulou 1983, 34; Karayannopoulos 1988, 279).

It is possible that all three interpretations of Kaminiates' text may be acceptable. The language describing the peaceful relations and stable economic relationship between the various groups involved, the 'mixed villages' (Slavs and Greeks), on the one hand, and Thessaloniki and Bulgaria, on the other, is expressed in a way that allows the inclusion of all the above parties. But the historical record shows how precarious peace was in this region when normal relations between any of the parties became strained or broke down.

In the *Life of Gregory the Decapolite*, 61-62, there is a reference to an uprising by the leader, *exarchon*, of a Sklavinia in the neighbourhood of Thessaloniki during which there was wide devastation and much bloodshed. The *Life* does not specify either the location of the Sklavinia or the date and the reason for the insurrection. Both Dvornik (1926, 35-36) and Lemerle (1945, 132-37; also Malingoudis 1987, 53-68) maintain that the Sklavinia in revolt was situated in the Vardar region (*cf.* Amantos I, 1953, 471-472 for a different view), but they differ as to the date of the uprising, the former putting it in 831 and the latter in 836/7. Interestingly, the revolt of the Sklavinia's *exarchon* is linked to the activities of the general Isbul sent by the khan Persian-Malamir (831-852) to foment, it has been argued, uprisings of Slavs living in the vicinity of Thessaloniki (Treadgold 1988, 291, n. 397; Lemerle 1945, 133-36). The operations of this general are recorded on the Protobulgarian inscriptions from Philippi (Beševliev 1963, no. 14, 164-65) and Vasilika (Feissel and Sève 1979, no. 8, 287-88; for a different interpretation of the inscriptions, but see Beševliev 1985, 143-48). It has also been suggested that Isbul's expedition was aimed at the Smoleanoi, a Slavic tribe situated between the upper

Nestos (Mesta) and Ardas rivers, and should be dated between 845 and 847 (Bury 1912, 370f.; Karayannopoulos 1989, 250-54).

Moreover, Constantine Porphyrogennetos reports uprisings of the Slavs in the Thessaloniki area under the emperor Michael II (820-829): the revolt of Soubdelitia (*de cer.* 634.2) suggests Sagouditia to some scholars (Dvornik 1926, 61-2; Karayannopoulos 1989a, 26 proposes a region northwest of Pangaeum) while the revolt of the Thessaloniki *archontia* (*de cer.* 635.3) is perhaps to be identified with that of the Drougoubitai and Sagoudatoi (Karayannopoulos 1989a, 26). In general, it is safe to say that peaceful conditions among neighbouring Slavs and the Greek-speaking population in the villages and the city of Thessaloniki depended very much on Bulgarian-Byzantine relations; and 'perfect peace' could not have existed in the region before the reign of the khan Boris (852-889) and the christianization of the Bulgarians in 864. Upon Basil I's death in 886 Photios informed Boris that Leo and Alexander had the good intention of preserving the 'common and saving peace ... unbroken and lasting forever' (*Letter*, 263 f.).

There is no agreement among scholars as to the date and extent of the christianization and hellenization of the Slavs in the hinterland of Thessaloniki. For some (Karayannopoulos 1988, 279) the christianization and hellenization of the Slavs in Macedonia did not occur until soon after the conversion of the Bulgarians. For Ahrweiler also (1983, 275-76) the growth of ecclesiastical organization in the region and the work of assimilation of Michael III (see Leo's *Taktika*, PG CVII, 969A; Const. Porph. *de cer.* 697) clearly indicate that the Macedonian Slavs were fully christianized by the first decades of the 9th century. Certain scholars, however, date the process of christianization and assimilation of the Slavs settled in the vicinity of Thessaloniki to the late 7th century, and in part attribute it to the Byzantine policy of enforced resettlement (Dvornik 1926a, 235 f.; Herrin 1973, 117; Charanis 1976, 14; Lemerle II, 1981, 187; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1993, 61-68).

²⁵ For examples of this, we may point to the Vardar, the Aliakmon and the Vistritsa.

²⁶ The kingdom of Bulgaria, as it was constituted at that time.

²⁷ This is a hackneyed allusion to the canal which, according to the accounts of ancient Greek historians, was dug on Xerxes' orders through the neck of the promontory of Mt. Athos (483-481 B.C.) in preparation for the Persian invasion of Greece which followed in 480. The event was recorded by Herodotus (VII, 22-24) and thereafter endlessly repeated by the rhetorical tradition.

²⁸ The reference is to the texts commonly known as the *Miracula Sancti Demetrii* in which the miraculous interventions of the patron saint on behalf of his city in its struggles against the invasions of the Avars (for whom Kaminiates uses the blanket term 'Scythians') and the Slavs (Kaminiates' 'barbarians') are related. These writings enjoyed a wide circulation in Thessaloniki at the time and afterwards.

²⁹ Boris of Bulgaria ('Scythian' returns here to meaning 'Bulgarian') was baptized in 864 with the Byzantine emperor, Michael III, acting as his godfather.

³⁰ Cf. Isaiah 2.4 which, however, reads: 'and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks'. Kaminiates' garbled quotation, in which the terms of reference have been somewhat grotesquely reversed, has all the appearance of an unrevised *lapsus memoriae*.

³¹ Kaminiates glosses over the fact that under the Bulgarian khan, Symeon (893-927), Bulgaria and Byzantium were once again engaged in hostilities, especially during the years 894-896.

³² The Via Egnatia.

³³ The phrases printed in quotation marks echo expressions which occur in Psalms 41, 5 and 86, 7. Perhaps Kaminiates is referring here to the singing of the Trisagion, which is linked explicitly in the Pseudo-Dionysian tradition with the Triad of the First Hierarchy, viz, Seraphim, Cherubim and Thrones.

³⁴ The church of St. Sophia is located in the centre of the city to the south of the Via Egnatia and a short distance from the church of Acheiropoietos. It is dedicated to Christ who was recognized at the council of Nicaea in 325 as 'the true Logos and Sophia (wisdom) of God'. As a cathedral it was called the 'Great Church' when in 797 Theodore of Stoudios visited it and provided the earliest reference to it. The church remained a cathedral, except for the period (1204-1224) when the city came under Latin rule, until 1523 when the Turks converted it into a mosque. The fire of 1890 seriously damaged the building. It was restored during 1907-1909 under the supervision of Charles Diehl.

The church is an example of a domed cruciform building at its early stage of development. It may be considered a transitional form between the domed basilica and the domed cruciform church; with the latter it shares many features: its plan is square, the dome is supported by barrel vaults, and a barrel vault was built above the sanctuary; however, as in basilicas, St. Sophia is divided into three well-defined aisles, separated from each other by columns and piers. Perhaps the most distinctive

architectural characteristics or 'imperfections' of this church are its pendentives, which are almost flat instead of spherical, and its dome, which is almost a square with curved corners. Because of these structural peculiarities the monument has been variously dated from the 6th to the 8th centuries.

It is generally agreed today, however, that the church was erected at some time during the Iconoclast controversy, and more specifically within the 8th century. The evidence for dating the monument is indirect and comes from the mosaic decoration of the interior of the church. First, the mosaic of the Virgin seated on a throne with the infant Christ on her lap replaced a huge cross in the apse, traces of which are still discernible. The original cross mosaic obviously points to a period when the iconoclast emperors were in power; secondly, on the sanctuary vault monograms of the emperor Constantine VI and the empress Irene, as well as of the bishop Theophilos who signed the acts of the Council at Nicaea in 787, provide a date of 780-797 for the execution of the mosaics. Thus the church itself must have been built before 797, probably during the reign of iconoclast emperors, either Leo III (714-741) or Constantine V (741-755). Other dates ranging from the 6th to the 7th century have also been suggested. In particular, since archaeologists have determined that it was built on the site of a large 5th-century basilica, which was presumably destroyed during the 618-620 earthquake (*Miracula I*, 194.19f.), the construction of the existing monument has been dated by some scholars to a period around the middle of the 7th century (Kissas 1985, 78).

From a very early period the church of St. Sophia was used as a burial place of prominent church figures, especially the city's archbishops; Gregory Palamas, the celebrated hesychast, was buried there in 1359. It was the cathedral church of Thessaloniki.

³⁵ The Church of the Theotokos, perhaps the earliest of the churches still extant in the city, is known today as the church of the Acheiropoietos; it was so named in the 13th century because of a miraculous icon of the Virgin Hodegetria 'not made by hands' which was kept in the church (Xyngopoulos 1954, 256-62).

It is a wooden-roofed, three aisled basilica of the 'Hellenistic' style, with a nave approximately 37 m. long and 15.5 m wide. The side aisles are two storeys high; the northern one extends into a chapel at its east end, and a second chapel or baptistry is attached to the south wall on the right side of the entrance to the aisle. Only the inner narthex is extant, whereas the outer narthex and the atrium - remains of a wall on the north side of the church may have been part of these structures - have not

survived. It has been pointed out, however, that the modern Aghia Sofia Street, which passes in front of the Acheiropoietos church, had been a road as early as the Hellenistic period, and that this would not have left any room for an atrium (see Vickers 1972, 156-70). This view finds some support in the fact that the large opening in the middle of the south wall was probably the original main entrance and must have had direct access to the large *leophoros* of the city, the Via Egnatia.

Only the approximate time of the basilica's construction can be determined. It is thought to be one of the churches erected in honour of the Virgin after the ecumenical council of Ephesus in 431 at which Mary was formally recognized as Theotokos (God-bearer). But 'internal' evidence points to a period between 450-460 for the completion of the church and the mosaics. An inscription on the middle arch of the *tribelon*, the entrance from the narthex to the nave, mentions a certain Andreas who has been identified with the priest Andreas, a representative of the archbishop of Thessaloniki at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 and signatory to the council's *acta*. It has also been suggested that the Andreas referred to in the inscription could have been the city's archbishop of the same name active towards the end of the 5th century. But bricks used in the building have been dated to *ca.* 450 (Vickers 1973, 285-94) and the capitals of the lower columns have been compared to those of the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople dated *ca.* 453/4 (Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou 1985, 64). Moreover, the mosaics in the soffits of the central arcade are dated to the period 450-60 (Bakirtzis 1983, 310-19).

The church was built on the site of earlier buildings, probably a Roman villa or baths, since the floor mosaics from these structures can still be seen near the east end of the northern aisle. The frescoes on the south aisle were executed in the first half of the 13th century and are thought to be precursors of the new Palaeologan painting (Xyngopoulos 1941-52, 472-87).

In 1430 the church was converted into a mosque and later called by the Turks Eski Cuma, but to the Christians of the city, it was known as Aghia Paraskevi; it was restored to Christian worship in 1912.

³⁶ Cf. Psalm 49(50).16. 'But unto the wicked God saith, what hast thou to do to declare my statutes ...?'

³⁷ Lemnos is known to have fallen in 903 shortly before the capture of Thessaloniki (Vasiliev 1968, II 1, 161-62 and n. 1 on p. 162, listing the sources).

³⁸ 'Hagarenes' i.e. descendants of Hagar, mother of Ishmael the son of Abraham and Hagar, for which cf. the story told in Genesis, Chapter 16.

Endnotes

Kaminiates refers to the Arabs almost exclusively by this name throughout his text (but see §18, where they are called 'Ishmaelites', and note 52).

³⁹ Cf. 2 Peter.3.3, 'knowing this first, that there shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts.'

⁴⁰ Cf. Romans 6.23

⁴¹ Cf. Romans 3.11

⁴² Cf. Ezekiel 18.24 and 33.11.

⁴³ Beroia suffered an earthquake *ca.* 900.

⁴⁴ Demetrias, situated to the south of present day Volo, was captured and sacked by the Arabs in 902.

⁴⁵ Cf. Romans 8.27.

⁴⁶ Kaminiates' phrase is a reminiscence and an adaptation of Matthew 7.13.

⁴⁷ Cf. Ephesians 5.6.

⁴⁸ Leo VI (886-912).

⁴⁹ The information that Kaminiates provides here concerning Leo's designs and manoeuvres in the north Aegean sea shortly before his attack on Thessaloniki can be better appreciated if it is related to other evidence which the Byzantine chroniclers preserve relating to his naval activities in the Hellespont and Propontis during June/July of 904.

Kaminiates offers two valuable pieces of information: 1) Byzantine fugitives informed the emperor Leo VI that Leo of Tripoli was planning an attack on Thessaloniki soon, and ii) Byzantine captives informed Leo of Tripoli that Thessaloniki was easily assailable by sea as having virtually no maritime walls. Although the author quite explicitly states that these Byzantines became fugitives and captives as a result of Leo's recent raids, he is silent, however, about the towns that they came from.

The Byzantine chroniclers leave us in no doubt that Leo of Tripoli, taking advantage of Bulgarian raids against Byzantine territory, had originally planned to attack Constantinople (Kedrenos II, 261; Theoph. Cont. 366); thus in the latter part of June 904 he led a naval force of 54 large galleys in the direction of the Hellespont. The Byzantine fleet under the command of Eustathios went to meet the Arab navy off the Hellespont, but soon withdrew back to the capital, offering no resistance. The Arabs then entered the Hellespont, and captured the key town of Abydos. After this, they advanced into the Propontis as far as Parion, which they also took. Then, while in Parion, instead of continuing in the direction of Constantinople, Leo then suddenly changed his mind, 'turned round' (ἀντεστράφη) and headed for Thessaloniki after making a brief

stop at Thasos (George. Cont. 862-63; Leo Gramm. 276-77; Ps.-Sym. 705-6; *Life of Saint Elias* 108; Nicholas Myst. ep. 23. 141-43, 164; Mas'udi *Prairies*, II, 318-19; cf. Vasiliev 1968, II, 2, 165-66; Jenkins 1948, 228-30; Farag 1989, 137-38).

What made Leo change his mind and the target of his attack still remains a mystery. The chroniclers attributed Leo's retreat to 'God's decision' to protect Constantinople, and emphasized the fact that Leo 'himself' (αὐθόρμητος) was responsible for the turnabout (Theoph. Cont. 368, 1-2).

Jenkins (1948, 228-30) relates Leo's expedition against the capital to an aristocratic plot which, in his view, was being hatched at this time by Andronikos Doukas, a *strategos*, and Eustathios, the commander of the imperial fleet, assisted by the Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos. After Eustathios was dismissed by Leo VI, Himerios, the new *droungarios*, put up a 'resolute front' and forced Leo of Tripoli to withdraw. Leo whose support the conspirators sought, now realized that his advance on the capital would be ineffective (Vasiliev 1968, 181-90 dates the revolt in 906/7; cf. also Karlin-Hayter 1967, 23-25) and withdrew.

Christides (1981, 78; 1984, 161) sees Leo's attack on Thessaloniki not as an impromptu decision following his aborted attempt to capture Constantinople but as part of the overall plan of the Abbasids to weaken the Byzantine state by striking at its second largest city; consequently, he argues, the Arab expedition into Propontis was simply a 'distracting gimmick' since the decision to attack Thessaloniki had been taken earlier following a Byzantine raid on northern Syria (cf. Vasiliev 1968, 163 n.1).

It is possible to fit Kaminiates' information concerning fugitives and captives within the context of the preceding narrative. Both fugitives and captives must have come from the town of Parion which Leo had captured (and from which he unexpectedly decided to fall back to the Hellespont and head for Thessaloniki); they could, of course, have been Abydians but a brief piece of information preserved by a single chronicler makes it unlikely. The chronicler (Ps.-Sym. 707, 14-18) tells us that the Arabs on their way through the Hellespont, while still at Abydus, inquired of their guides if there was another exit that they could take to return 'home' (εἰς τὰ οἰκεία) since the 'narrow passages of the route' frightened them. On receiving a negative reply, the Arabs hurried to return to the Aegean and then set sail for Thessaloniki. Modern scholars put little credence in the chronicler's information (Jenkins 1948, 220 n.75; Vasiliev 1968, 165, n.5; cf. also Karayannopoulos 1988, 280). But if it is properly related to the movements of the imperial fleet under Himerios,

the chronicler's report could be valuable.

Certain chronicles (Theoph. Cont. 367, 4-18; Kedrenos II, 262, 11-15) point out that Himerios in pursuit of Leo of Tripoli passed by a number of places, probably trying to gather intelligence concerning Leo's whereabouts. At Abydus, his first stop, Himerios must have been told that Leo, afraid of the straits, was speeding back home (to Syria). The admiral, the chronicles state, pushed south as far as Strobilus, a port north of Cos, where he must have realized that he had been deceived by the Abydians' reports and pushed north checking at all the major points he passed by, Imbros, Samothrace and Thasos. At Thasos, on discovering for the first time, it seems, the superiority of the Saracen fleet and its high morale, he kept his ships at a distance and soon retired (Theoph. Cont. 368, 1; Kedrenos II, 15-16).

It is now clear that Leo of Tripoli must have obtained valuable information about the poor state of Thessaloniki's maritime defences from prisoners at Parion. He therefore changed his plans, and pushed ahead for Thessaloniki. To gain precious time during which the imperial government could have tried to reinforce the city's weak defences, Leo spread the rumour at Abydus that his crews were afraid of the narrows and that they were rushing back home. The new admiral Himerios, who actually had not had a chance to assess the strength of the Arab fleet before Thasos, was duped, made an unnecessary trip south to Strobilos, and finally showed how weak his naval forces were since 'they (the Byzantines) did not dare to come even close to their fleet' (Theoph. Cont. 368, 1).

⁵⁰ Petronas is not called *strategos*, but only *protospatharios*, a high honorary title just below the patriciate, granted by the emperor to high ranking officials. When it is first attested in the 7th century the *protospatharios* was not only an honorary title, but an actual government office (Bréhier 1949, 101, 109, 113).

It is true that Petronas had been singled out by Kaminiates as the best defence strategist of all those who were appointed by Leo VI to look after the defence of the city. The underwater barrier which Petronas began constructing out of tomb stones is praised by Kaminiates as 'ingenious', 'clever' and 'appropriate', and the only strategy capable of affording 'total security to the city'. This system is well known in Italian defence language as a *porporella* (cf. Vitruvius X, xvi, 9).

Kaminiates, who in hindsight thought Petronas' project was the best, gives no explanation why it was abandoned by Leo Chitzilakes, the *strategos* who replaced Petronas. Did those in charge of the construction

of the barrier discover that they were running out of the material needed to complete it (*i.e.* tombstones), or that it could not be completed on time to provide the needed protection? Kaminiates characteristically writes that the project was prevented from being completed on account of the 'wickedness' of the inhabitants of Thessaloniki (see §17, the concluding remark of the last sentence). The modern interpreter, however, must turn to more rational explanations: perhaps there were many in high office who strongly disagreed with Petronas' approach and thought the necessary repairs to the sea walls would have been more speedily completed and provided better security. It is possible that Leo, the *strategos*, either because, in his view, time was running out or because of pressure from this group of citizens, or both, decided to proceed with the repairs to the maritime fortifications.

⁵¹ According to Kaminiates, Leo [Chitzilakes] was appointed in July 904 by the emperor Leo VI as '*strategos* of the whole region', a phrase which may be interpreted to mean that he was *strategos* of the Thessaloniki theme (Karayannopoulos 1988, 280, 282). Since Kaminiates mentions no theme, nor does he say whom the *strategos* Leo was supposed to replace in that capacity, some scholars maintain that his position was temporary, *i.e.* for the defence of the city before and during the siege of Thessaloniki (Lemerle 1945, 153; Nasledova 1959, 229); they find confirmation of their view in the Byzantine chronicles and the Harbour Gate inscription in which Leo is mentioned simply as a *strategos* of the city of Thessaloniki Theoph. Cont. 368, 3: Katzilakios; Georg. Cont. 863, 7-8: Chatzilakios; Leo Gramm. 277, 8: Chatzilakios; Kedrenos II, 262, 19: Chatzilakios).

There are sufficient reasons to believe that Leo Chitzilakes was not only *strategos* of the city which was the seat of the theme, but also of the theme itself. First, Kaminiates, who avoids technical terms in general, never uses the word 'theme' when he talks about *strategoï* but instead, in the case of Thessaloniki, employs the word 'region' (περιχώρου, *cf.* §56.5); second, if there had been a separate *strategos* of the theme, Kaminiates would have certainly referred to him in the course of the defence preparations; third, it can be safely inferred from Kaminiates' narrative that this post of the Thessaloniki theme was vacant when Leo of Tripoli decided to attack the city; the *protospatharios* Petronas had been only temporarily assigned to look after its defences (see §17) until a permanent *strategos* was appointed; fourth, it would have been an unprecedented policy for an emperor to appoint two *strategoï* in the same city and assign to them the same responsibilities for its defence; a possible rivalry between them could have placed the defences in danger (see note 54).

The inscription which was found in 1879 on a large stone that formed the lintel of a gate at Constantine's Harbour (Chatzi Ioannou 1881, 17-18; Spieser 1973, 162-3) refers to 'repairs made during the office of Leo Chitzilakes, royal *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Thessaloniki'. The restorations to the gate which are recorded in the inscription have been identified by most scholars with those referred to by Kaminiates in connection with Leo's defence activities shortly before the fall of Thessaloniki (Vickers 1970a, 267-68; Spieser 1984, 58). Vasiliev (II, 1, 1968, 180), however, believes that in fact the inscription commemorates restorations to the sea wall after Thessaloniki's capture, when Leo Chitzilakes, who was also taken prisoner by the Arabs, was ransomed by the Byzantine government and returned to Thessaloniki together with others. Nothing, however, is known from other sources about Leo's fate: whether he survived to be ransomed, or, if he was ever ransomed, whether he returned to Thessaloniki to resume his duties as a *strategos*.

⁵² 'Ishmaelites' is another name for the Arabs of Syria, an alternative for 'Hagarenes', based on the same biblical episode, for which cf. note 38.

⁵³ All Africans living to the south of Egypt were called Ethiopians in Antiquity (Herodotus II, 146; VII, 69; Aeschylus *Prom.* 807-812). The name ('burnt-face') was generic and was applied to the inhabitants of Africa, including the Nubians who were the closest southern neighbours to Egypt (Böhlig 1975, 127). It is believed that Kaminiates' 'Ethiopians' were actually either Sudanese from Nubia, who were sent to serve in the Arab Egyptian forces according to a treaty, or were Muslim Sudanese who were permanent residents of Egypt (Christides 1981, 84).

⁵⁴ Niketas' appointment by the emperor Leo VI as a second *strategos* in charge of the city's defence has puzzled some scholars (Lemerle 1945, 153; Nasledova 1959, 229). In the view of Karayannopoulos (1988, 280) Niketas was sent to Thessaloniki to take command of the city's garrison; no position of this kind, however, was attested until the 11th century. It has also been suggested that Niketas may have been appointed *praefectus urbi* at Thessaloniki as a replacement of the former *praefectus per Illyricum*, a post which had been abolished in the 8th century (Konstantakopoulou 1996, 87f.).

There is no reason to question Kaminiates' statement that Niketas was sent to Thessaloniki simply to assist in organizing its defences more effectively as the approach of the Arab fleet became imminent. The conditions that were rapidly developing necessitated the presence of another high ranking officer for a city with which the emperor himself felt a special relationship (see note 22 for some measures taken by him).

Moreover, Niketas seems to have been familiar with the military and ethnic conditions prevailing in the region, since he tried to solicit help from Slavic groups and the Slavs of the Strymon (see note 57). Leo Chitzilakes, being new to the post, would have welcomed a fellow officer who, it seems, had better knowledge of the area and its people than he had.

⁵⁵ Leo Chitzilakes.

⁵⁶ The anthologist Stobaeus has preserved a hexameter verse quoted in an extract from a lost work of Plutarch on the Art of Prophecy (cf. Plutarch's *Moralia*, vol. 15 p. 272-3 Loeb Classical Library 1969), which may be translated: 'Need teaches all, what could not Need invent?' The not-easily-identifiable poet (the names of Archytas of Amphissa, Philetas of Kos and Eratosthenes of Kyrene have all been suggested) of this single-line quotation seems to have been the sage whose verse Kaminiates adapts here in words that may literally be rendered 'everything put under severe pressure is resourceful'.

⁵⁷ The Sklavenes, a branch of the south Slavs, formed an important and numerous group who originally settled north of the Danube. As Sklavenoi or Sklavoi they begin to appear in our Byzantine sources from the middle of the 6th century onwards (Prokopios, Menander Protector, Theophylact Simocatta, Maurice's *Strategikon*, *Miracles of St. Demetrius*). Beginning with the final years of Justinian's reign (Prokopios *Anecd.* 8.5), various Sklavene groups, sometimes together with the Antae and other times under the leadership of the Avars, frequently crossed the Danubian frontier and raided the north Balkan provinces as far as Thessaloniki (Prokopios *de bellis* VII, 40).

Lands occupied and settled by the Sklavenes can be found throughout the Balkans including Macedonia. There is no agreement among modern scholars as to the chronology of their first permanent establishment in Macedonia, and especially in the neighbouring territory of Thessaloniki. Given the lack of information about the character of the Slavonic settlements in general and the chronology of their establishment in particular, it is understandable that scholarly opinions are diverse. Some date the first settlements in the area of Thessaloniki towards the end of the 6th century (Niederle I, 1923, 63-65; Lemerle 1945, 114f.; Herrin 1988, 135; Barasić in Vryonis 1981, 139-49); this dating is generally based on John of Ephesus (3.25; 6.30-32, 45-8) and Theophylact Simocatta (1.3-8). Others, relying on the *Miracula* of St. Demetrios, place the Slav settlements in Macedonia in the early part of Heraklios' reign: a coalition of Slavic tribes, among which the Drougoubitai and Sagoudatoi (*Miracula* I, 175.1-18), attempted to capture Thessaloniki around 615, settle in it with

their families and turn it into 'le centre d'une confédération sklavène' (Lemerle II, 89-91 and 184). It is not clear if the aforementioned tribes settled to the west and north-west of Thessaloniki after their failure to take the city. Lemerle (II, 1981, 185) maintains that it was between 618 and 620 that these Sklavene groups first settled in the proximity of Thessaloniki at the conclusion of a peace agreement between the Thessalonians and the Avaro-Slavs following a long siege of the city (*Miracula* I, 184.1-189; cf. Theocharides, 1980, 179). By the second half of the 7th-century some Sklavene tribes are recorded as having already 'established themselves near' Thessaloniki (προσπαρακειμένων, *Miracula* I, 208.8).

Data concerning the distribution, number, size and location of the Macedonian Sklavene settlements are extremely inadequate, due to the poor quality of the archaeological record and of the literary sources. The picture painted by the *Miracles of St. Demetrius* and the chronicler Theophanes indicates several settlements dispersed throughout the prefecture of Illyricum in the late 7th century, from Nestos to Pindus and from Haliakmon to Stoboi (see maps no. 3 and 4 in Karayannopoulos 1994). Thessaloniki was practically surrounded by Slavic tribes, some of whose names are attested, as is the case with the Drougoubitai and the Sagoudatoi, the Rynchinoi, the Strymonitai and the Smoleanoi farther to the east and north-east of the city (see relevant remarks in notes 17, 18 and 58); another Slavic group (unnamed; *Miracula*, I, 220.29) occupied the region around Lite about 12 km north of Thessaloniki.

The prevailing *opinio communis* among scholars is that by the 7th century the Slavonic settlements, the *Sklaviniai*, acquired a technical meaning as geographic and administrative units, organized under their own kings, *rheges*, or leaders, *archontes* or *exarchontes* (Ahrweiler 1983, 274). The initial status of independence (αὐτόνομοι, αὐτοδέσποτοι) was gradually transformed to one of submission (ὑποκείμενοι) as a result of Byzantine imperial policy adopted from the second half of the 7th to the early 9th centuries. Some Macedonian Sklavenes were forced to submit to the fisc (ὑπόφοροι) and as tributaries they kept their own leaders (Tapkova-Zaimova 1972, 357; see also note 19) and others acquired the status of allies (σύμμαχοι) with leaders appointed by the Byzantine authorities, and were required to provide military assistance when called upon (Tapkova-Zaimova 1969, 64; see also note 60).

Contrary to the *opinio communis*, E. Chrysos, in a re-examination of the sources, both Greek and Latin, in which the word Sklavinia is employed, has cogently argued that it was only from the late 8th century

onwards – a period which he calls the third stage in the evolution of the Slavonic societies - that the term was applied to Slavonic lands as politically and administratively organized units; some of these Sklaviniae were under Byzantine imperial control. Prior to the late 8th century, Chrysos maintains, Sklavinia was not used as a technical term but simply meant those Slavonic tribes which settled on imperial territories according to the terms of peace agreements concluded with the imperial government (1997, 2 ff.)

The majority of scholars maintain the view that the Sklavenes of Macedonia underwent a gradual process of christianization and hellenization - in some cases there may have been two distinct processes in the reverse order - which lasted from the time of their settling in the area in the 7th century until the 9th century (Dvornik 1926a, 235; Charanis 1976, 18; Lemerle II, 1981, 187; Ahrweiler 1983, 275 f.); these scholars argue that the Byzantine imperial policies of subjugation and enforced resettlement which were assumed by the emperors Constans II in 658 (Theoph. 347, 6), Justinian II in 688 (Theoph. 364, 11), Constantine V in 759 (Theoph. 430, 21: τὰς κατὰ τὴν Μακεδονίαν Σκλαβηνίας), Staurakios in 782/3 (Theoph. 456, 26), together with Nicephorus I's repopulation programme of 809/10 (Theoph. 486, 10-13) must all have forwarded this gradual process of hellenization. The three-point policy which has been attributed to Basil I (Leo, *Taktika*, PG LVIII, 969A), but was in fact the work of Michael III (Constantine Porphy., *de cer.* 697) was most decisive in byzantinizing the various Slavic groups, although certain exceptions persisted (Charanis 1946, 75-92; Graebner 1975, 142). The conversion of the Bulgarians to Christianity in 864 and the long peace that ensued facilitated the christianization and byzantinization of the Slavs in Macedonia (Karayannopoulos 1988, 279).

When the themes of Thessaloniki and Strymon were created, the Slavonic settlements were already an integral part of the imperial administration which now assumed a military character as well. The dates for the formation of these themes are in dispute (on the Strymon see note 58). The Thessaloniki theme is first implied in a letter of Michael II to King Louis the Pious in 824 (Mansi XIV, 418); its *strategos* is referred to in 836 (*Life of Gregory the Decapolite* 1926, 36, 62 f.) and clearly recorded in the *Taktikon Uspenskij* (Oikonomides 1972, 353), which is dated 842-3; nevertheless, some scholars suggest an earlier date, holding that the theme must have been created between 796 and 811 (Karayannopoulos 1994, 31, n. 121) or 796 and 828 (Kyriakides 1946, 142, 405f.; Theodorides 1980, 221 f.). In the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos, the *strategos* of Strymon is

ranked 24th on the hierarchical ladder, while the *strategos* of Thessaloniki is ranked 26th; both *strategoi* received no salary from the imperial treasury, but were expected to collect a special levy from the taxpayers of the theme as their annual stipend (Christophilopoulou 1983, 49). It has been calculated that in 842 the *strategos* of Thessaloniki did not command more than 2,000 troops (Treadgold 1988, 353).

The theme itself occupied an area that extended from Thessaly to Ioannina and as far as the Strymon river in the west; its northern borderline cannot be determined with any degree of certainty since it changed constantly during the Byzantine-Bulgarian conflicts of the 8th and 9th centuries. On the basis of Kaminiates' reference to the 'mixed villages' that paid tribute to the Bulgarians, whose borders were very close, it would not be unreasonable to place the Byzantino-Bulgarian boundaries in 904 south of Stoboi and perhaps in the vicinity of the modern borderline (Theocharides 1980, 222 f.; Treadgold 1988, map on p.336; Karayannopoulos 1994, map no. 7).

⁵⁸ The Strymonian Slavs were already fully cognizant of the military importance of the *kleisourai* and of the other strategic points of the area in the second half of the 7th century (*Miracula* I, 220.17-18; Lemerle II, 1981, 126 n. 193). As an administrative unit, however, the Strymon *kleisoura* must be connected to Justinian II's expedition of 688/9 'against Sklavinia and Bulgaria' (Theoph. 364, 11 f.; Lemerle II, 1981, 190; Theocharides 1980, 183; Karayannopoulos 1984, 211 f.; Stavridou-Zafraka 1995, 312).

A couple of rather vague references to a *kleisoura* are linked by a number of scholars to the Strymon: Theophanes' allusion to 'the narrows of the *kleisoura*' (364, 15 f.) where Justinian II was ambushed by the Bulgarians on his way back to Constantinople has been interpreted as a reference to i) the modern Roupel passes (Kyriakides 1939, 399f; Lemerle 1945, 124 f. and 1954, 306, n.4 expressing some reservation; Ahrweiler 1983, 274) and ii) the mountain passes of Philippopolis (Grigoriou-Ioannidou 1982, 113-24; Karayannopoulos 1989a, 15; Stavridou-Zafraka 1995, 313), the same passes that Justinian II had used *en route* to Thessaloniki. The second reference is preserved for us by Constantine Porphyrogennetos, who writes that Justinian II established Scythians 'on the mountains of Strymon and the passes of the *kleisourai*' (*de them.* 3, 1-5, p. 88 f). The majority of scholars identify the 'Scythians' with the Slavs and link Justinian's settlement of them in the passes to his 688/9 expedition (Lemerle 1945, 124 f.; see also Lemerle II, 1981, 190, n. 291 where he takes a more cautious position). Justinian's action has been interpreted as a defensive measure to stem further Bulgarian and Slav

invasions into the region and to secure the communication routes from north to south (Karayannopulos 1989a, 15-17), and according to another view, (Toynbee 1973, 268), it was part of the emperor's repopulation policy. During his campaign (Theoph. 364, 15 f.), Justinian transferred many Slavs from unidentified Slavonian settlements to the Opsikion theme. The policy of resettling Byzantine population in the Strymon valley and elsewhere had been vigorously pursued by the emperor Nicephorus I in 809/10; in 812, however, the new settlers of the Strymon district fled, fearing Bulgarian attacks by Krum (Theoph. 496, 2; Beševliev 1963, no. 16, pp. 177 f.).

When the Strymon *kleisoura* changed to a theme is a matter of ongoing debate among scholars. Even Constantine VII (*de them.* 3, 1-5, p. 87 f.) was not certain if Strymon was a *kleisoura* or a theme. On the chronology of the Strymon theme scholarly opinions may be divided into two groups. To the first group belong those scholars who maintain that Theophanes' phraseology 'the Bulgars fell on an army at the Strymon ... killed a great number of soldiers, including the *strategos*, his *archontes* and the *archontes* of other themes' (484, 29 - 485,3) is indicative of the existence of the Strymon theme already by 809, the *terminus ante quem* (Kyriakides 1946, 397-400; Karayannopulos 1994, 20-23; Stavridou-Zafraka 1995, 317-19). The year 789 (Theoph. 463, 20 f.) is considered as the *terminus post quem* for the creation of the theme. The Strymon theme, it must be admitted, is missing in the *Taktikon* of Uspenskij dated 842/3. But the absence of the theme may attributed to the imperfections of the single manuscript in which the *Taktikon* has been preserved.

The majority of scholars, however, belong to the second group. They hold the view that the *strategos* who was killed by the Bulgarians must have belonged to the theme of Macedonia, and that therefore the Strymon theme must have undoubtedly been established between 842/3 and 899. The latter is the year in which Philotheos' *Kletorologion* was written, and in this Strymon is included among the western themes (Lemerle 1945, 124-28, dates it closer to the mid-9th century; but see Karayannopulos' criticism of Lemerle's position, 1994, 21-27; cf. also Rajkovic 1958, 3 and Charanis 1976, 17). The evidence of the surviving lead seals which bear the names and/or titles of Strymon *archontes* and *strategoï* cannot be used to date the theme securely in the first half of the 9th century until they can be made to yield a more precise chronology (Zacos-Veglery I, 2, 1972 nos. 1753, 2652, 2659). Serres is attested as the capital of the theme in the 9th century and the seat of a bishop (Theocharides 1980, 227). Other theme towns were Philippi, Christopolis which was founded in the second

half of the 8th century at the Strymon delta (Svoronos 1979, 184) and Chrysopolis.

⁵⁹ Kaminiates does not offer any reason to show why the Strymon *strategos* did not help in spite of Niketas' repeated appeals through letters and intimidation tactics. The author resorts to a kind of character assassination of the unnamed *strategos* by charging him with malevolence, inhumanity, deception and even plotting, but he fails to provide the reader with enough background information to support this negative judgement on the *strategos*' conduct. What is even more perplexing is the *strategos*' unexplained prohibition of any one else from responding to Niketas' pleas.

Modern historians have offered various suggestions in an attempt to explain the behaviour of the *strategos* of Strymon: Amantos maintains that theme generals were quite independent and had no jurisdiction over a neighbouring theme; it was up to them to help another theme if they were asked (II, 1957, 58); Charanis feels that the Strymonitae Slavs served as reluctant auxiliaries in the theme army (1976, 18); Nasledova maintains that the Strymon *strategos* was a Slav whose obligations to military service were more theoretical than real (1959, 230); Tapkova-Zaimova (1964, 119), rejecting Nasledova's assumptions, stresses that the Strymon *strategos* could not have been a Slav and that he was expected to assist the besieged city of Thessaloniki.

On this issue Kaminiates' narrative allows one to make certain observations: first, Niketas was placed by the emperor Leo VI in charge of Thessaloniki's defence but in fact he did not hold the powers of a theme *strategos*; those were held by the injured Leo Chatzilakes about whom practically nothing is said during the entire period of events; second, Niketas evidently became desperate when he observed the poor showing of the neighbouring Sklavenes; their leaders, according to Kaminiates, were so greedy and corrupt that money alone could have persuaded them to contribute militarily; and money to pay the Slav mercenaries was not, it seems, readily available; third, it was then that Niketas concentrated all his energies on bringing in the Strymon *strategos* who apparently never refused the request as his intervention was expected 'right up to the last day of the war'. A reasonable explanation of the reason why the Strymon *strategos* did not keep his promise of assistance to the Thessalonians has been provided by N. Oikonomides; relying on the evidence of the Naresh boundary inscription (Beševliev 1963, no. 46, 215f.) which, he argues, was unilaterally inscribed and placed by the Bulgarians before the fall of Thessaloniki to the Arabs, Oikonomides makes the suggestion that, before

and during the siege of the city by Leo of Tripoli, the Bulgarian armies had been mounting pressure along the Byzantine-Bulgarian border; this must have created a situation which was serious enough to deter the Strymon *strategos* from sending the assistance which had been promised to the beleaguered Thessalonians (1995, 241f.).

⁶⁰ This is a reference to the Slavs of the Strymon theme. It is the only time in Byzantine sources that the Strymon Slavs are described as 'allies', whereas the Slavs in the environs of Thessaloniki - those at least who lived in the western plain - are characterized as 'tributaries' to the city of Thessaloniki (see note 19). There is no evidence in the sources which shows when the Strymonian Slavs changed from having the status of 'tributaries' to that of allies', and the matter is open to speculation. In an earlier article (1964, 119) Tapkova-Zaimova argued that the change could not have occurred before 820, when the Strymon Slavs, in her view, still enjoyed a status of independence. But between 820 and some time in the second half of the 9th century when the Strymon *kleisoura* became a theme, the Strymon Slavs, she maintains, were reduced to the position of allies; thus the definitive submission of the Strymonians should be linked to the creation of the Strymon theme. In a later article (1972, 359), however, she takes the position that the 'allied' status undoubtedly came as a result of Justinian II's expedition of 688; they were then, she claims, assigned to guard the frontiers of their territory from enemy incursions. Theophanes records three relevant incidents: in 789 Philetos, the *strategos* of the Thrace theme, was killed by raiding Bulgarians in his camp at the Strymon river (464ff.); likewise, in 809 a company of Bulgars fell on the Byzantine army on the river Strymon, killed many soldiers among whom were their *strategos* and officers and plundered the troops' payroll (484, 29 f.). In 812 the settlers who had been recently established in the Strymon area by Nicephorus I fled from fear of impending Bulgarian attacks (496, 2ff.).

As allies the Strymonitae Slavs were under the command of the theme *strategos*, from whom they received their orders. Their commanders (*archontes*) were appointed by the *strategos* and were responsible for contributing troops for local defence and expeditions (Oikonomides 1979, 168). There is no evidence in support of Nasledova's thesis that the Strymonian Slavs held in 904 a semi-autonomous status nor that their relations with the Byzantine empire were governed by a treaty of co-operation (1959, 232).

⁶¹ Phraseology and turns of thought in Kaminiates' version of this special prayer for intercession are heavily reminiscent of the Septuagint. The last eleven words of the original are for the most part words and

phrases taken verbatim or adapted syntactically from the following: III Maccabees 2.17; II Maccabees, 10.4; *ibid.* 10.2; Psalms 78.6.

⁶² Cf. Jeremiah 7.16; 11.14; 14.11.

⁶³ A.D. 904 in our system of chronology, since the Creation of the World took place in 5508 B.C. according to the era of Constantinople.

⁶⁴ This statement of Kaminiates is very hard to reconcile with our contemporary knowledge of existing weather conditions. There is a wind (it is more of a breeze or a gentle wind) that blows from the west, *i.e.* from Olympus; the locals (at Katerini, Litohoro etc.) call this the *apogeio* (= off-shore wind) and *pounentes* which, on the wind rose, corresponds to the ancient Zephyros, which was always a west wind. This wind, however, blows during the hot summer months only in the late afternoon/early evening hours, not in the morning and afternoon, as Kaminiates would have us believe. Secondly, because it is a west wind, or more precisely a breeze, it would not have helped the Arab ships to sail at high speed towards the harbour; rather, it would have pushed them in the direction of Chalkidiki. In conclusion, it could not have been this wind for the three reasons mentioned: time, direction and strength.

Another wind, quite strong at times, that prevails at this time of the year (July-August) in the Gulf of Thessaloniki, with a direction from the south-west, is the so-called *boukadoura*. This starts blowing in the early afternoon hours - the time when the Arab ships appeared around the Jetty (*Ekbolos*) - and subsides just before the *pounentes* begins. It can surely help a ship 'fly' in the direction of Thessaloniki. However, the nature of this wind, as it is described by those who have current knowledge of weather patterns in the area, contradicts Kaminiates' general statement that it blows from the west all day. As a third possibility, though unlikely, one can mention a summer storm known as the *bourini* which appears suddenly from any direction, accompanied usually by much rain, and is the cause of much fear to fishermen and other sailors. It can occur at any time of the day and usually does not last for long.

⁶⁵ A pun on the name Leo, as soon becomes apparent. In Byzantine sources he is called 'Leo Tripolitis' or simply 'Tripolitis, a former citizen of Attaleia' (Theoph. Cont. 366.14; Kedrenos II, 261.22; Skyl. 182). In Arabic sources Leo is commonly referred to as Ghulam Zurafa, meaning the 'page of Zurafa'. Zurafa held high positions under several Abbasid caliphs at Baghdad (Tabari IX, 225 f.) including that of governor of Tripoli, probably in 863. Leo, taken prisoner in his early youth in a raid against Attaleia by the Syrian fleet was brought up by Zurafa in the Muslim faith, and was trained in naval tactics which led to his command

of the Syrian fleet by 903 (Grégoire 1952, 373-78; Farag 1989, 134). Leo is mentioned by Byzantine chroniclers in connection with his victory over Himerios off Chios in 912 (Theoph. Cont. 376 f.) and his raid on Lemnos *ca.* 922/3, when the Byzantine fleet, commanded by John Radinus, destroyed almost the whole of his fleet and crew, while Leo barely escaped (Theoph. Cont. 405. 11-16; Ps.-Sym. 735.10-13).

⁶⁶ Leo Chitzilakes, *strategos* of the theme of Thessaloniki.

⁶⁷ Cf. §19.

⁶⁸ Kaminiates is the first author to refer to this gate by name; its exact position is unknown, but it was located near the sea and it was one of the four gates that facilitated the city's communications with the eastern side.

Later Byzantine sources make no reference to it, and after 1430, it seems, its name was changed and its position confused. Evliya Çelebi, who visited Thessaloniki in 1668, calls it the 'Gate of the Records Office' (Vickers 1979a, 264) but surprisingly by 1685, when Gravier d'Otières drew a detailed plan of the city, it was missing (Spieser 1984, 50 and 215). The gate was probably temporarily closed between Evliya's and d'Otières' visit. In the 19th century it was known as Kanli Kule (Tafrali 1913, 95) and it was first identified with the 'Rome Gate' by Chatzi Ioannou (1881, 29). There is no agreement as to the origin of the name 'Rome' in this context. Tafel (1839, 100) assumed that it was probably named after a statue of Rome standing nearby but others (Tsaras, 1987, 66, note 45) think that the adjacent Roman palace complex built by Galerius *ca.* 300 was the source of its name.

⁶⁹ Leo Chitzilakes and Niketas.

⁷⁰ Before deciding on a precise meaning for this puzzling phrase, it might be helpful to reduce it to its broadest and least specific terms of reference and understand it as denoting an effect that is artificially produced, which involves the use of stones as projectiles and sounds like 'thunder'. The expression is first attested in *The Miracles of St. Demetrius* (Lemerle 1979, 151, lines 26-27), where it is associated with the hail of stones shot from a stone-throwing engine.

In the present passage three different types of weapon are mentioned: there is the bow, there is something else, and there is the *petrobolos* or stone-throwing engine. A clue to what that 'something else' might have been is provided by the following observation, found in an anonymous sixth-century treatise on strategy (cf. Dennis 1985, 40, lines 84-88): 'Enemy detachments, covering themselves with their shields, often try to approach the walls by following behind the siege engines, and with slings or arrows, try to drive off the men posted on the walls to keep them from

damaging the machines from above.'

The three types of weapon referred to, then, are the bow and the sling (both hand-held) *and* the stone-throwing engine. Such an interpretation, of course, entails understanding the expression under discussion in a different sense from that which it has in the *Miracula*, but the fact that it occurs immediately after the mention of men using bows and arrows does much to facilitate such an understanding. Nor does it seem unreasonable to suppose that the tenth-century reader would have had little difficulty in choosing the meaning appropriate to the present context.

A.P. Kazhdan, on the other hand (Kazhdan 1978, 303-304), has tried, unconvincingly, to prove that the phrase is used here to refer to Turkish cannon, thus seeking to impart to it a precise but anachronistic meaning whose acquired sense is then invoked as further support for the hypothesis of fifteenth-century authorship. He does this by drawing a parallel between the present passage and the use of the same phrase in John Anagnostes' account of the capture of Thessaloniki by the Turks in 1430. Indeed he even wonders with reference to the *Miracula* (Kazhdan 1978, 304) whether 'the opposition of the hail of stones and the made-by-hand thunder of stones could not have originated under the influence of the later experience with the Turkish or Italian artillery.' When it comes to Anagnostes, however, Kazhdan moves from tentative speculation to confident assertion: 'This supposition seems all the more plausible, as Anagnostes uses the wording 'the made-by-hand thunder of stones' in his story of the siege of Thessalonica by Murad. He relates that the Turks had been bringing every day to the beleaguered city, on camels and on carts, siege engines, *helepoleis*, and afterwards Murad had ordered to destroy the walls with the made-by-hand thunder of stones and to drive away the defenders from the walls, using arrows and various other weapons, which are usually applied for taking strong points. Well, these stone shots, discharged with thunder and destined to destroy walls, - what were they, if not cannon-shots?'

Unfortunately, Kazhdan's presentation of Anagnostes' account is inaccurate and misleading in a number of important respects: i) Murad's orders 'in his rage to carry out a frantic attack forthwith against the fortification', were (cf. Tsaras 1958, 20.17-20) 'to strike it (*παλεῖν* does not mean to destroy, *pace* Kazhdan) with the hand-made thunder of stone (singular in Anagnostes) and by means of the missiles discharged to prevent those up above (*i.e.* the defenders) from standing their ground on the walls and to use every device conducive to conquering the city.' Since siege engines had been mentioned three lines earlier by Anagnostes but no

specific weapon named, it is at least a fair guess that these siege engines included *petroboloi*. In which case the phrase that concerns us here would appear to have been used in much the same way by Anagnostes as it had been used in the *Miracula*. Incidentally, the first explicit mention of the use of archery to clear the walls of defenders occurs twelve pages later (Tsaras 1958, 32.4-6). ii) Both Turkish and Italian cannon (the latter used by the defenders) are mentioned by Anagnostes. In both cases (Tsaras, 1958, 26.5; 32.21) a special term, *σκεύη*, is used to denote the small cannon used by both sides. iii) It should perhaps be noted that it is not until twelve pages after the one and only mention of 'the hand-made thunder of stone' that a Turkish cannon is referred to, when it is used in an unsuccessful attempt to 'smash' (Tsaras 1958, 32.22 *πρὸς συντριβήν*; and contrast *παίειν* at 20.17) the defensive screen (made of wood) surmounting the battlements. iv) When the city finally fell, its capture was preceded by the successful scaling of an unguarded section of the walls (Tsaras 1958, 36.11-25). Some of the defensive screen built over the battlements was knocked down with the aid not of cannon but of stones, and the weaker sections of the wall were brought down by the exertions and audacity of relatively unprotected shock troops acting as sappers (Tsaras 1958, 36.5-8 and 9-10). So to judge from what Anagnostes tells us, the role of cannon in the capture of Thessaloniki by the Turks in 1430 was marginal.

⁷¹ The Rome Gate, cf. note 68.

⁷² Tafrali (1913, 97-99) argued that one of the two other eastern gates which Kaminiates left unidentified must be the Gate of the 'Asomatoi', also known as the 'Archangels' referred to by Eustathios (p. 451) and by John Kantakouzenos (I, 268.22-25) within the context of events of the year 1328 (on the sources see Spieser 1984, 51-52). Both Byzantine authors place the gate in the eastern wall, but do not specify its location. Tafrali (1913, 97) proposed a position of the gate at the east end of the modern St. Demetrios Street and identified it with Telli Kapi, as it was known to the Turks, or New Golden Gate, as the Greeks called it. It was Theocharides (1954, 36) who first identified the Rotunda of St. George with the attested Church of the Asomatoi and consequently placed the Gate of the Asomatoi or Archangels in the vicinity of the Rotunda. He made the assumption, however, that the 9th-century street, which he identified with the modern St. Demetrios Street, swerved in a southerly direction towards the Gate of the Archangels/Asomatoi. In fact, this gate was located slightly north-east of the Rotunda at the end of the modern Philippou Street which has been constructed on a late Roman route that

crossed the city from east to west and was parallel to Egnatia and Aghiou Demetriou Streets, as recent excavations have shown (Bakirtzis 1975, 305-307). The gate was later known by its Turkish name as Porta Kapi (Gounaris 1976, 32 f.). Paradoxically, Spieser (1984, 54) rejects the existence of the Gate of Archangels during Kaminiates' time, on account of the confused (in his opinion) tradition of the Byzantine sources; alternatively, he thinks that the Gate of Anna Palaiologina, located in the wall joining the Acropolis to the Triangular Tower and dated through its inscription to 1355, must have been operational much earlier since it was 'an indispensable exit for the inhabitants of the upper city' (p.55).

⁷³ It was named after Kassandreia, a city situated at the head of the most westerly prong of Chalcidike. This eastern gate, located to the north of the Rome Gate, is first attested in the *Miracula* (p. 146) and a second time in the 9th century *Life of Saint Theodora* (1996, 170; see also Spieser 1984, 50, note 125). After Kaminiates it is not mentioned in any Byzantine sources. It appears again in the 17th century under the name of the Kalamaria Gate (Moschopoulos 1940, 330; Theocharides 1977, 259-297), perhaps because a road led from it to the district of Kalamaria (Spieser 1984, 50, note 128; Gounaris 1976, 32). In 1874 both gates, the Kassandreotic and Rome, were demolished. The exact location of the gate has been debated. A reference in the *Life of Saint Theodora* (*supra*) to a λεωφόρος, a large road that 'led to the Kassandreotic gate', as well as the plans of the city drawn by 19th-century visitors, clearly indicate that the Kassandreotic Gate lay at the eastern end of the Via Egnatia - the modern Syndrivani area - but that it was not directly east of the Arch of Galerius (Spieser 1984, 61 ff; Tafrali 1913, 96 f.).

⁷⁴ Kaminiates is the first Byzantine author (after Prokopios) to provide some details about the composition of the mixture which came to be known as Greek fire. Earlier, Prokopios told how the besieged Persians, ca. 550-51 in Lazica, hurled against the Byzantine siege artillery fire-pots filled with sulphur, asphalt and naphtha (BG VIII, 11, 35). Kaminiates mentions only pitch and quicklime.

Pitch in liquid form mixed with naphtha or crude oil was mentioned by Anna Komnena (XIV, 2, 10) as the mixture that made up the contents of clay amphorae hurled by the Arabs of Tyre against the wooden siege engines of the Crusaders. Pitch mixed most commonly with some form of crude oil and other ingredients had been known as an incendiary agent already in antiquity (Thuc. II, 53; Aeneas, *Pol.* 33-35) and late antiquity (Vegetius IV 1-8, 18). Herodian (VIII.9) refers to a mixture of pitch, asphalt and oil in 'hollow pots' thrown against the Roman army and their

weapons at the siege of Aquileia in 238. Pitch by itself, unless it is mixed with oil or naphtha, is not flammable (Marchus graecus, 491-97).

Quicklime, the second ingredient of Kaminiates' destructive mixture, is a substance rarely mentioned as part of an incendiary missile. The only other source, the third-century Greek chronicler Julius Africanus, names quicklime as one of the constituents of a compound in which liquid asphalt (= naphtha), among other ingredients, was present. The chronicler writes that crushed quicklime poured on the mixture causes it to ignite suddenly under the impact of solar heat; for this reason, he calls it 'automatic fire'. Some modern researchers were led to believe that quicklime was an ingredient in the incendiary substances which the Byzantines commonly called 'liquid' fire and the Westerners, Greek fire (Hime 1915, 39; Mercier 1952, 14; Forbes 1959, 86; cf. Korres 1989, 87). Quicklime in powder form, in their view, increased the temperature of the mixture and caused it to ignite automatically when it was projected on the sea; for others (Davidson 1973, 70) a small quantity of quicklime in the mixture simply prevented it from being extinguished by the sea water. The view that quicklime upon coming in contact with sea water ignited the mixture has come under serious scrutiny and questioning (Zenghelis 1932, 270; Cheronis 1937, 363); Partington (1960, 30) went so far as to exclude quicklime from any incendiary composition because it is an unsuitable substance. Mercier (1952, 30, 124) holds that the basic ingredients of 'Greek fire' with which the pots were filled were naphtha, sulphur, quicklime and saltpetre.

It is difficult to determine whether the mixture which is described by Kaminiates was a flammable substance used only in fire-pots as missiles (Partington 1960, 15, 29; Christides 1984, 65; Haldon 1977, 98), or if it was what the Byzantine authors (Theoph. 396, 15; Theoph. Cont. 298, 19; Leo *Tact.* 53, 8; Const. Porph. *De adm. imp.*, 13, 73) commonly refer to it as 'liquid' fire which was projected both in fire-pots or through siphons under pressure (cf. Korres, 1989, 118-22, n.84). Regardless of what one wishes to call Kaminiates' combustible substance, its full composition remains a matter of speculation; since these incendiary substances of missile type came in various forms, it is difficult to infer what the other constituents were. Certainly, naphtha or crude petroleum was an essential component; in addition, sulphur seems to have been a common ingredient in most mixtures. Although quicklime and saltpetre are not essential, they were still often added as ancillaries (Davidson 1973, 70; Partington 1960, 30-32; Haldon 1977, 92). The resinous torches that the author mentions were obviously used to ignite the liquid mixture in the clay fire-pots.

⁷⁵ It is clear from the narrative that the earthenware pots containing the flammable substances that Kaminiates mentions were prepared only when the Thessalonians were alarmed by the Arab contrivance of wooden towers mounted on their ships' masts. The defendants' intention was, it seems, to attempt to burn or disable these wooden structures which were perceived as having the potential to seal the fate of the city.

There is no doubt that the clay pots were to be hurled either by hand or by means of an engine, usually a catapult (Mercier, 1952, 92 f.). In surviving Byzantine sources these incendiary containers are variously called 'vases' (Prokopios *BG* VIII, 11, 35), 'pots' and 'hand-siphons' (Leo *Tact*, IX 57; *Naumachica*, 1, 64-65) and they contained a mixture in liquid form, the thickness of which could have varied greatly. The clay pots (more rarely made of metal or glass) were either dropped on wooden structures during sieges or hurled on to the decks of ships (Prokopios, *supra*; *Naumachica* 1, 64; Leo *Tact*. 53, 8). The combustible contents of the pots were ignited, usually with a resinous torch, at the time that they were being flung by the soldier or shot by the catapult; some fire-pots were equipped with wicks drenched in sulphur which were lit just before they were thrown; in fewer cases the projectiles were ignited by a shower of fire arrows as they were flung (Mercier 1952, 24 ff.; Forbes, 1959, 87). Mercier thought he had found such fire-pots in the museums of Near Eastern countries and believed the residual traces in them represented the original incendiary mixture (1952, 30); it cannot, however, be certainly ascertained whether these museum pots were indeed used to contain incendiaries (Partington 1960, 14).

⁷⁶ The reference here must again be to the use of Greek fire, for which *cf.* the discussion in note 74.

⁷⁷ Some of those who had leaped down from the wall in a disorderly and panic-stricken rout without even using the help of a ladder (the incident is referred to briefly in the previous chapter) must have hurt themselves badly and been unable to move as a result.

⁷⁸ *I.e.* the Divine call to salvation. For the expression *cf.* in particular II Thessalonians I.11.

⁷⁹ The term is used loosely here as a eulogistic synonym for 'monks', 'ascetics'. For its original use *cf.* Judges 13. 1-8.

⁸⁰ *Cf.* Psalms 115.6 (116.15): 'Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints'.

⁸¹ *Cf.* §34.

⁸² The earliest references to the Acropolis of Thessaloniki are found in Cicero's speeches *de provinciis consularibus* 2, 4 and in *Pisonem* 34, 84,

dated *ca.* 56 and 55 B.C. respectively; the Thessalonians, Cicero writes, fearing the invading Thracians, abandoned the city and felt compelled 'to fortify their citadel', *arcem munire*. Cicero lived in exile in Thessaloniki between 58 and 57 B.C.

Tafrali (1913, 30) thinks that Cicero is describing repairs made to the Hellenistic citadel. Spieser (1984, 62 and 76) maintains that *arx*, as Cicero uses the word in the above speeches, should be given a broader meaning, denoting either the elevated parts of the city, or more probably the fort variously known today as Heptapyrgion or Yedi Kule, which was built in Hellenistic times to safeguard the north access and the city's water supply from Chortiates. Spieser believes that what was later known as the Acropolis was not constructed during the Hellenistic era at the same time as the rest of the city's fortifications but as late as the mid-5th century A.D. when a major reconstruction of the ramparts was undertaken. He bases his thesis on two facts: i) the towers in the wall separating the city from the Acropolis are built so that they project into the Acropolis and not into the city, as would have been the common and logical practice when a city and its acropolis ramparts were built at the same time. This peculiarity may be explained if the Acropolis was constructed later than the separating wall with its towers; ii) the chronological discrepancy between the separating wall and the acropolis ramparts is confirmed by their construction technique: traces of two stages of construction of the separating wall (mid-3rd century B.C. and mid-5th century A.D.) have been identified, but only a single stage, a mid-5th century one, has been observed in the acropolis fortification wall (Spieser, *ibid.*, 62, note 226). Vickers (1972, 167 f.), however, maintains that both the Heptapyrgion fort and the acropolis walls were erected in Hellenistic times as was the practice with many Hellenistic cities in Seleucid Syria and in Macedonia.

Oreopoulos, in a recent study (1995, 12-17) of the Heptapyrgion in its relationship to the Acropolis and the city ramparts, argues that the acropolis ramparts were constructed in two stages: during the first stage, which he dates to a period prior to the reign of Justinian, the walls with their triangular towers and the large cistern were built; in the second stage, which, in his view, coincided most likely with the reign of Heraclius (610-641), rectangular towers were added in most of the intervals formed by the triangular towers; he dates the construction of the Heptapyrgion to the 12th century.

There is also the view held by some (Velenis 1994, 87 and 97) that the existing Acropolis was constructed at some time after the early 10th century and that both Cicero and Kaminiates, when speaking of the

Acropolis, mean the most elevated and rocky area near the northeast end of the upper city which was fortified during the Hellenistic era and repaired (*munire*) in the 1st century B.C. This view, however, which is based only on ambiguous literary evidence, needs archaeological support to gain credibility.

⁸³ A district situated south-west of the Acropolis and named after the Church of St. David (Hosios David), which once stood on high ground close to the wall at its intersection with an imaginary line produced from Sophia Street (see map in Böhlig 1975, 139), and which was later to become the church of the Latomou monastery.

⁸⁴ The more important of the two gates mentioned by Kaminiates in connection with the western ramparts. It remained the main gate of communication with western lands mentioned by travellers to the city down to the 19th century. Through it passed the Via Egnatia, that large route which joined West-East, Dyrrachion with Constantinople. It was Chatzi Ioannou who first identified the Vardar Gate, as it was widely known under the Turks, with the Golden Gate (1881, 32). By the time Tafrali visited Thessaloniki, the gate was completely torn down (1913, 102). In Byzantine sources, references to the gate are found in the *Acta of Saint Demetrius* (Migne, PG 116, col. 1180) in connection with the murder of Nestor, Demetrios' companion, by the Roman soldiers and in the *Miracula* I, 155.27 where it is cited with its Latin name *inauratae*, meaning 'golden'. It is mentioned for the last time in a *prostagma* of Manuel Palaeologus of 1429 (Dölger 1948, no. 124, 1.5; Spieser 1984, 55 f.). It should be noted that Constantinople also had a Golden Gate, the principal entrance to the city, at which the Via Egnatia terminated.

⁸⁵ It seems this western gate was not as widely used in later times as the Golden Gate, so it is rarely mentioned by travellers who know it only by its Turkish name Yeni Kapi meaning 'New Gate' (Spieser 1984, 56 note 182). Chatzi Ioannou first identified this gate with the Byzantine Litaea Gate (1881, 32-34). It was situated at the western end of the modern Aghiou Demetriou Street, the eastern end being occupied by the New Golden Gate or Telli Kapi (see note 84). Apparently it was named after Lite (or Lete), a town to the north-west of Thessaloniki to which the route from the gate led. Tafrali (1913, 107-110), who saw the gate relatively well preserved, was able to sketch and measure it. It was protected by double doors, an exterior one in the outer wall and an interior one in the main wall; they blocked entrances as wide as 3.20 metres, which were separated from each other by an octagonal court, the length of which was approximately 12-13 metres (Tafrali 1913, 108, fig. 11).

⁸⁶ Kaminiates must be referring here to maritime gates which led to Constantine's Harbour rather than to the Thermaic gulf since, strictly speaking, no such gates are attested in our surviving sources before Kaminiates. Spieser (1984, 58) thinks that the absence of proper gates does not exclude the possible existence of 'smaller gates' (cf. παραπύλιον in Lemerle I, 177.22). Certainly at the beginning of the 10th century there were two gates open to the city's harbour: one, the so-called 'Leo's Gate', was in all likelihood situated at the juncture of the modern Leontos Sofou and Frangon streets (Bakirtzis 1975, 323); here in 1874 an inscribed lintel was discovered on which the *strategos* Leo Chitzilakes is mentioned (Spieser 1973, 162-163; Tafrali 1913, 111). The three metre long lintel suggests a rather wide gate. The second entrance to the Harbour is known as the 'Sea Gate' (πύλη τοῦ γιαιλοῦ) and should have been located at the eastern end of the Harbour's north wall (Bakirtzis 1975, 323, note 173) rather than at the north end of the Harbour's eastern wall (Vickers 1970a, 262).

⁸⁷ By the building of a wall across them, for which cf. §31.

⁸⁸ A reference to an acropolis gate that led to the countryside. It is difficult to believe that a single exterior gate served the Acropolis, but there is no reason to question Kaminiates' evidence which is confirmed in the 14th century by John Kantakouzenos (III, 94, 579). The gate, often referred to in the narrative as 'gates', consisting of a double door through which the leaders of the Sklavenes made their escape, has been identified with the gate presently located in the eastern wall of the Acropolis at a point where a path leads towards the neighbouring hills (Tafrali 1913, 113 f.; Spieser 1984, 58).

⁸⁹ These commanders had apparently come to help in the defence of the city at the head of a force of Sklavene archers (see §20). Their 'escape' through the gate of the Acropolis at a critical moment of the siege raises, in the opinion of Nasledova, serious questions concerning the credibility of Kaminiates' report of the incident. She points out that he employs the same stereotyped expressions that he applied earlier (§20) to the Slav leaders: malicious, greedy, scheming and deceitful. Kaminiates is therefore criticized by Nasledova for allowing his personal feelings of 'hatred against the Slavs' to colour his narrative of the episode. She holds the view that the exit of the Slav leaders from the city could not have been an escape, since they left behind the soldiers whom they had previously led into the city to fight; above all, that they were acting on the orders of the *strategos* of Thessaloniki when they went out to meet the approaching Strymonian allies (1959, 234).

The commanders' argument, however, that they were acting 'at the express command of the *strategos*' (the reference must be either to Leo or to Niketas and not to the Strymon *strategos* as Böhlig 1975, 132 believes) seems to have been sufficiently convincing for the crowd, among whom were Kaminiates and his relatives, to allow the 'someone' left behind by the Slav commanders to lock the gates without any opposition from the Thessalonians gathered there. The 'someone' could not have been one of the Slav leaders; he must have been either a Slav archer, or more likely a Thessalonian who knew the city and its fortifications well and probably was in possession of the keys to the gate. In the context of the circumstances prevailing in the city, it is difficult to explain the conduct of the person in possession of the keys and the passivity of the frightened crowd. Can we assume then that the reason - the 'specious pretext' according to Kaminiates - offered by the Slav commanders, that they were going out to meet the Strymonitae Slavs on the orders of the *strategos* of Thessaloniki, had such an effect on the people that they passively accepted it? If indeed the Thessalonians who were assembled before the gates accepted the commanders' argument, as the author implies, they must have thought that the Strymonian troops could still help them in spite of the fact that their city was already in the hands of the Arabs.

⁹⁰ As it appears from Kaminiates' narrative in §§39-42, following the capture of the city by the Arabs, the Acropolis was used by a significant number of people, among whom were the author himself and four other members of his family, as a place of escape to safety and not as a last refuge for security. There was no emergency plan to turn the Acropolis into a last resort stronghold, nor was there an attempt to defend it after the collapse of the sea-wall defences. Nowhere in the narrative is there any indication that either the single gateway to the Acropolis or the wall separating the city from the citadel had been even minimally guarded by the Byzantine forces. Understandably, within its limited space the Acropolis could not possibly accommodate the population of a city as large as Thessaloniki. The question concerning the function of the city's citadel, therefore, needs to be addressed.

The *Miracles* of St. Demetrios shed no light on the Acropolis and its possible uses. Admittedly, the city in spite of the numerous sieges and attacks in the late 6th and 7th centuries had never fallen to the enemy, and thus its Acropolis, assuming that it was in existence then, does not come into the picture. In the 12th century, when Thessaloniki was being besieged by the Normans (1185), Eustathios, in describing the plight of the bewildered inhabitants wrote: 'people in the lower town lost hope of

surviving but most of them raised their eyes towards the Acropolis, as if to a mountain, where they expected to find safety for themselves' ἐνθα βοήθειαν ἐκαπαδόκουν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι, p. 371). In fact, a large number of Thessalonians found refuge in the Acropolis but only for a short time; their hopes for security were dashed when it was discovered that the recently constructed reservoir could not hold the water supply (*ibid.*, 436).

In 1430, shortly before the city was captured by the Turks, the Thessalonians had not sought the Acropolis as a place of refuge or escape, apparently because its eastern wall which Sultan Murad thought to have been vulnerable was vigorously besieged and breached (John Anagnostes, ed. Tsaras 1958, 30.23-26 and 34.8-9).

The events themselves speak clearly of the inherent weakness of the Acropolis as a last place of refuge: there was no outer wall or moat and on the east side the wall was easily accessible on account of the gentle slope (Tafrali 1913, 69; Gounaris 1976, 39; Spieser 1984, 43). It may safely be said that the independently fortified Acropolis could not provide the security badly needed in times of great danger. In view of its questionable usefulness to the citizens in emergencies, it has been suggested that its real function was to secure the adjoining plateau from enemy domination and protect the water supply, which was so vital to the city, especially during the dry summer months when sieges normally took place (Tafrali 1913, 115; Spieser 1984, 12 and 14; Vickers 1972, 167 attributes an important administrative rôle to Hellenistic citadels).

⁹¹ Cf. §§20-21 for the first occasion.

⁹² If this is taken to refer to the *strategos* of Strymon, then Kaminiates' earlier accusation regarding this individual (cf. §20) that 'he misled us right up to the last day of the war into believing that he would appear at any moment' now becomes fully intelligible; but cf. note 89.

⁹³ According to the account given in John 1, 35-42.

⁹⁴ Cf. Matthew 9,6; Mark 2,10; Luke 5,24.

⁹⁵ Vocabulary, imagery and thought are largely drawn at this point from patristic sources, as a glance at the entries in the *P.G.L.* s.vv. ἀπευδοκέω, γένεσις, εἰσπράττομαι, εὖθυνα, μακαριότης, τελείωσις and χωρισμός will make clear, all of these being words which occur in the present passage.

⁹⁶ Cf. §41.

⁹⁷ This nunnery is otherwise unknown. The few details supplied here are the only pointers to its location that the written record has left us.

⁹⁸ Cf. §49.

⁹⁹ This church has not been successfully identified. The most that can be inferred from Kaminiates' narrative is that it was situated on high ground

in one of those parts of the city that sloped upwards in the direction of the Acropolis.

100 *I.e.* some member of the family circle (for which *cf.* §54) who, although not one of the five persons mentioned in §42, had knowledge of and access to the whereabouts of the valuables.

101 The general ban on wine goes back to the very beginnings of Islam (*cf.* The Holy Qur'an, Sura 2, verse 219 and Sura 5, verse 93), but the significance of this detail, the action it presupposes and the motivation behind that action become fully intelligible only in the light of the following *Hadith* preserved by al-Bukhari (d. A.H. 256/A.D. 870): 'Anas said, I was giving drink to people in the abode of Abu Talhah, and their wine at that time was made of dates. Then the Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) ordered a crier to make it known that wine was forbidden. He said, "So Abu Talhah said to me, go out and pour it out." I poured it out, and it flowed in the streets of Madinah.' For the original text (with facing English translation) *cf.* Maulana Muhammad Ali 1978, 350. Kaminiates preserves here a precious and authentic detail which would accord both with the spirit of the time and with Leo of Tripoli's desire to display the behaviour of a zealous neophyte.

102 The salat or formal Prayer, one of the 'five pillars' of Islam, is observed five times a day, namely, at dawn, mid-day, mid-afternoon, sunset and nightfall. The final assault was delivered at dawn (*cf.* chap. 34) on the 31st of July, 904 and since so many different events are made to follow this in Kaminiates' account, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that the present reference is to the mid-afternoon prayer.

103 This must be the intended meaning of the at first sight completely unintelligible remark by the 'leader of the other army', τοῦ ἑτέρου στρατοῦ. Just six lines earlier Kaminiates had referred to Leo of Tripoli as having gathered together the captains of the fleet, τοὺς τῶν νηῶν ἀρχηγέτας. In the present context, therefore, 'the other army' means the foot soldiers, ὁ πεζός as opposed to ὁ ναυτικός στρατός.

104 Although the precise significance of this ecclesiastical title still eludes us, its existence is now firmly attested for the 10th century, thanks to the publication in 1963 by V. Laurent of a series of seals belonging to the exarchs and patriarchs of the 9th to 11th centuries, which includes the seal of a certain *Cosmas, hegoumenos* and exarch of Hellas (details in Kazhdan 1978, 303 and notes 9 and 10; his discussion of this particular point is on the whole a model of impartiality and accuracy). The apparent anomaly of Kaminiates' father being based in Thessaloniki while holding such a title is not unparalleled (*cf.* Böhlig 1975, 109-110, n.2) and

is more an indication of present day ignorance of the finer points of 10th-century ecclesiastical organization than a serious reason for doubting the authenticity of Kaminiates' account. It is true, however, as Kazdan points out, that the assertion made here that Kaminiates' father had a status equivalent to that of a bishop is at variance with Kaminiates' earlier statement in §43 that he held only the (relatively low-ranking) clerical grade of *anagnostes*. But whereas in §43, Kaminiates was imparting autobiographical information in his own person to his addressee, Gregory of Kappadokia, this assertion is put into the mouth of an unnamed Arab commander who is described as 'the leader of the land army'. If we follow Kaminiates' narrative attentively, it is possible to reconstruct a chain of communication. The first link in this chain is the unnamed soldier who had acted as interpreter for Kaminiates. He had, as will be recalled (§48), secured the agreement of the Ethiopians, in whose company he was, to the initial arrangement whereby Kaminiates and his family were to have their lives spared in return for a promise to hand over a considerable amount of buried treasure.

The second link is the equally unnamed commander responsible for the massacre in the Church of St. George (§51). This man, having been informed of the bargain which had been struck, had exempted Kaminiates and his family from the general slaughter. After this he had galloped off on his horse to the harbour, having given directions that the prisoners should be led there. Given the vicissitudes which Kaminiates then relates (their journey to the harbour, from there to where the treasure was hidden and then back again to the harbour in §§53-55), there must have been plenty of time for the perpetrator of the massacre in the church to pass on to his superior, the leader of the land army, the details originally supplied by Kaminiates. Whatever these were, they must have been calculated to emphasize the value of the treasure and the social importance of the family. To inflate that importance by equating Kaminiates' father's status with that of a bishop was doubtless part of the strategy of survival. The abuse of terminology is unlikely to be a serious consideration when one's life is at stake. Leo of Tripoli's interest in finding the bishop is clearly mercenary: a live bishop would be a great deal more valuable than a dead one. If Kaminiates' father was dressed in such a way as to suggest the status of a bishop, that too should come as no surprise. The same foresight that had gone into hiding the treasure would have ensured that he was found wearing his very finest robes.

105 *I.e.* that of 'chamberlain' (*koubikleisios*) ascribed to him (in both the title and the colophon) by the manuscript tradition.

106 The exchange of prisoners occurred a year later on 27th September, and continued for four days. The exchange took place at a customary site by the Lamus river in Kilikia, slightly east of Tarsos, and 12,000 prisoners were ransomed; the Byzantines, however, unexpectedly broke off the proceedings and as a result both sides withdrew taking with them the remaining prisoners. The interrupted exchange was known in Arabic sources as 'the perfidious exchange' or 'Fida al-ghadr' (Tabari III, 2254; Vasiliev 1968, II, 1, 182-84). Nothing is known about the fate of John Kaminiates, whether he was released or whether he even lived to see the exchange of prisoners.

107 Leo Chitzilakes.

108 Leo of Tripoli.

109 The eunuch Rhodophyles held the important office of *koubikoularios* or 'chamberlain' in the imperial palace. The sparse information supplied by the chroniclers (cf. Theoph. Cont. 368, 6-9) supplements Kaminiates' much fuller account here by furnishing us with the additional detail that the unfortunate Rhodophyles had put in at Thessaloniki in order to receive treatment for, and to recuperate from, an illness. For the gradual transformation of the *cubiculum* and the development, during the course of the 7th-11th centuries, of a parallel palace hierarchy staffed for the most part by eunuchs cf. Bréhier 1949, 109-112.

110 Cf. §18.

111 Cf. §25.

112 According to Arab chroniclers the number of Byzantine merchant ships that Leo of Tripoli seized was sixty (Sibt al-Jawzi mentions seventy). These sources do not distinguish, as Kaminiates does, between sunken ships and ships moored on the beach, nor do they specify the number of ships in each category (Grégoire 1952, 375; Vasiliev II, 2, 1950, 18-19, 56 and 143).

113 The reference is to Leo Chitzilakes and Niketas.

114 Some chroniclers agree with Kaminiates in reporting that Symeon the *asekretis* handed over to Leo of Tripoli the gold left behind by Rhodophyles (Theoph. Cont. 368.11-12; Ps.-Sym. 707-22; Kedrenos II, 263.3-4); others, however, who report the event in exactly the same words, mention that Rhodophyles carried with him both 'gold and gifts' but that Symeon handed over to Leo the gold only (Georg. Cont. 863.3-4; Leo Gramm. 277.15). A further point of divergence from Kaminiates is raised by the *Life of St. Euthymius* (1955/56, 106) where it is written that Symeon gave the Arabs τὴν εἰς Βουλγάρους παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀποσταλεῖσαν φιλικὴν δεξιῶσιν μετὰ καὶ τῆς ὁλκῆς τοῦ χρυσοῦ, 'the friendly gifts sent

by him [the emperor] for the Bulgars, along with the quantity of gold'. Stylistically the phrase in the *Life* cited above seems to distinguish 'gifts' destined for the Bulgarians, from 'gold' for which the biographer does not identify the original recipient. Karlin-Hayter (1965, 610) argues that the biographer wrongly interpreted Kaminiates' reference to the Strymon *strategos* to whom Rhodophyles entrusted the gold as meaning Bulgarians. Runciman (1930, 151), who says that Symeon the *asekretis* travelled with Rhodophyles and was caught by the Arabs in the city, suggests that Symeon carried gold which represented the tribute of the Macedonian 'cities' to the Bulgarians (see note 20). Theocharides (1980, 244f.) thinks that Rhodophyles' gold was originally destined for the Bulgarians but was surrendered to the Arabs to save lives and the city. For Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou (1979, 70) Symeon's 'friendly gifts' were proof of the cordial relations between Byzantium and Bulgaria.

Kaminiates' testimony, confirmed by the chroniclers, is unassailable. The question, however, of Symeon's 'gifts' of friendship is puzzling. Perhaps they were tied to the activities of the Bulgarian army all along the south-eastern frontier with Byzantium and the Naresh boundary stone which the Bulgarians unilaterally set up as it has been argued recently (Oikonomides 1995, 241f.). The Bulgarian actions make Symeon's threat to capture the fallen city sound more real and explain his mission to the Bulgarians in the environs of Thessaloniki at a most critical moment in its history (Kaminiates tells us that Symeon was sent 'on an urgent matter').

Moreover, Kaminiates' evidence concerning Rhodophyles' intention to send the gold to the Strymon *strategos* has been questioned by Nasledova (1956a, 88-92 and 1959, 238), who believes that the gold was offered as a strong incentive to the *strategos*, to speed up the despatch of Slavic archers. But it would make better sense (*contra* Kaminiates, and in agreement with the *Life*) if Rhodophyles' gold were to have been used to pay the Bulgarians to lift their pressure on the Strymon. This would have allowed the Strymon *strategos* to rush a force of Slavic archers for the defence of Thessaloniki.

¹¹⁵ On 9th August.

¹¹⁶ This is important evidence which shows that there was Egyptian participation in the expedition of Leo of Tripoli.

¹¹⁷ It was past midnight. Earlier (*cf.* §66) Kaminiates had given the vague indication 'after late evening' preceded by a reference to sunset and apparently presupposing an interval between the two.

¹¹⁸ Bolbos as a toponym is not known from any other source, and therefore it cannot be identified with any degree of assurance. Attempts

to identify it with Embolon (Grégoire, 1952, 375) or to place it at the tip of the Pallene peninsula (Nasledova 1959, 239) are not acceptable. Bolbos was probably situated in the area between the modern ports of Nea Moudania and Nea Potidaea, since it was in the late afternoon when the Arab ships arrived there. In this particular area the 17th-century map makers mention a certain Scolus (Vischer 1682 and Coronelli 1696 in MMA, 1985, 136-37 and 166-67). If the Arab fleet put out to sea at dawn of August 9th, after sailing for a distance of approximately 55 miles, it probably reached the port of Bolbos in the early afternoon; then, following a brief delay for the ransoming of certain women, the ships set out for the tip of Pallene, which they would have been able to reach in the evening of the same day.

119 The crossing, from the tip of Pallene to the Diadromoi at the Sporades Islands, must have been rough, because it was made in the open sea and at a time when the north wind or *meltemi* can be quite strong, as Kaminiates attests. The arrival at the Diadromoi (the modern Alonnisos and Peristera) was in the early morning of August 10th.

120 Approximately 184.87 metres.

121 Andros, one of the larger islands of the Cyclades, is separated from the southernmost tip of Euboea by a strait of 15km width. The Arab fleet must have arrived near Andros in the morning of August 12th. The manoeuvres of the fleet which Kaminiates describes in order to avoid any encounter with the Byzantine navy lasted four days until August 16th when it touched the island of Patmos.

122 The island where St. John the Theologian, identified with the Apostle John, is said to have been exiled during the reign of Domitian (AD 81-96). A monastery in honour of St. John, who wrote the *Apocalypse* (Rev. I, 9-10) and, according to one tradition, the Fourth Gospel on this island, was founded in the late 11th century. A sojourn of six days from August 16th to 21st in a waterless island, as Kaminiates says, must have served some purpose for the Arab pirates, especially since Patmos lay quite far from their course.

123 *I.e.* people were driven by hunger to eat rotting food and by thirst to drink contaminated water, so that they died not of hunger and thirst but from contaminated food and drink.

124 Otherwise, as Kaminiates implies, the air, which they must first inhale before they can exhale, will already have been breathed in and out by an indefinite number of persons before them. The suggestion seems to be that the individual could raise his head just long enough to inhale before lowering it again and exhaling into the common pool of foul air.

125 The largest island of the Cyclades. Naxos, like Ios, Paros, Cythera and Carpathos, was under the control of the Muslims of Crete and paid tribute to them (Christides 1981, 95-97). The islands were used as bases for Muslim raids on other islands and cities of the Aegean Sea. The Syrian fleet of Leo stayed in Naxos for two days and must have departed on August 23rd or 24th, since by August 26th it had reached Crete.

126 *I.e.* 'Living Place', perhaps a calque on the Latin word *vivarium*, which means, among other things, 'fishpond'. The site is not attested in other sources and cannot be identified with any degree of accuracy. From the information that Kaminiates provides in §74, Zontarion seems to have been situated near the city of Chandax, and more likely to the west of it at a nearby bay; the small rivers that flow through the adjacent plain offer a good supply of water. Moreover, it lay across the channel separating the islet of Dia from the Chandax Bay (Böhlig 1975, 137).

127 I follow here, though with some hesitation Böhlig's emended text and punctuation, which, if correct, would suggest a certain grim ironic humour on the part not only of Kaminiates but also of his fellow sufferers. Otherwise, one might perhaps leave the text as it stands and read, 'but which in truth came to have an opposite meaning for us.'

128 *Cf.* Christides 1984, 71 for an illustration of a Muslim ship with an animal's head on the prow. Perhaps Kaminiates has some such figurehead in mind here.

129 *I.e.* Sunday the 26th of August, since it is clear from the information already supplied by Kaminiates that Sunday the 19th must have been spent off Patmos.

130 One fifth of the booty, material and human, had to be surrendered to the state according to Muslim law (*cf.* The Holy Qur'an sura 8, verse 41/42); the remainder was divided among the victors. According to Arabic sources, Leo of Tripoli had fixed the share of the booty for each participant in the raid on Thessaloniki at the amount of 1,000 dinars (Tabari III, 2250; Grégoire 1952, 375; Farag 1989, 134 and n. 7).

131 A reminiscence of Matth. 2.18, itself an adaptation of Jeremiah 38.15. Clearly, Kaminiates has both passages in mind.

132 According to Kaminiates, the prisoners from Thessaloniki were made up - with the exception of a small number of adults packed in one ship - of a single age group, *i.e.* young people (see also §61). On the basis of this information, Finlay attempted to make a rough estimate of the total population of Thessaloniki in 904; he concluded that it amounted to 220,000 assuming that the 22,000 young prisoners comprised one-tenth of the entire urban population (II, 1877, 267 n.1).

Some scholars have accepted Finlay's figure as reasonable (Vasiliev II, 1, 1968, 168) but others have thought it too high (e.g. Struck 1905, 542-43). Theodorides (1980, 245) puts it at 100,000, which in our opinion is a more credible figure.

A number of unknown factors contribute to make any estimate of Thessaloniki's population controversial. First, the number of those killed by the Arab forces in the city must have been quite high on the basis of Kaminiates' narrative (see §§39-41, 45, 51-52, 54); as far as Arabic sources are concerned the actual number of those slaughtered by the enemy ranges from 5,000 (Tabari, *Tarikh*, X, 117) to 15,000 (Sibt al-Jawzi in Grégoire, 1952, 375). The 12th-century historian al-Jawzi, who reports the prisoners to have been 30,000, seems to be closer to Kaminiates' figures than the 10th-century Tabari whose figure for those killed and taken prisoners is 5,000 respectively. Second, a significant number of people must have escaped (see §37) and others must have gone into hiding. Third, many of the prisoners were ransomed by their relatives who had escaped from the city (§§62 and 63); the number of the ransomed should have been in the thousands since the transactions lasted ten days. Also, a number of women were bought at Bolbos (§67) and some people succumbed to death during the long voyage to Crete (§§68 and 69).

It has been observed, however, that Thessaloniki soon after its capture developed into a significant economic, political and military centre rivalling Constantinople itself (Ahrweiler 1983, 278). It appears then that the Arab raid did not have a fatal impact on the city, and did not deprive it of such a large number of its population that it fell into a decline.

133 Cf. §61.

134 Leo of Tripoli.

135 The 6th of September.

136 Dia, from 'Dia', 'the divine island', instead of Kaminiates' Διός, 'Zeus's island' (Pauly-Wissowa, V, 298) is an islet lying 12 miles or 19 km north of Chandax (modern Iraklion). The Arab fleet did not stop at Dia, but passing by to the south of the island it headed towards the eastern part of Crete, where it made its final stop for water before it sailed on the open sea towards Cyprus.

The most suitable place for purposes of beaching and water supply is the Sitia area, the last accessible part of the eastern tip of Crete. The voyage from Zontarion to Sitia should have taken, depending on weather conditions, between a day and a day and a half, i.e. on the 7th of September the ships must have reached Sitia.

137 Cf. the remark with which Kaminiates concludes §1.

Endnotes

- 138 It would appear from what Kaminiates says here that Leo of Tripoli had no booty on board his ship, only food and water, together with his own men and a number of (presumably) valuable prisoners.
- 139 Leo Chitzilakes and Niketas.
- 140 Cf. Hebrews 4.13.
- 141 A reminiscence of Psalm 106 (107), 29, but the close verbal parallel in Kaminiates is with the Septuagint and cannot be brought out in translation, since all well-known translations reflect the language of the Hebrew at this point and there is, precisely, at this point, a divergence of language and imagery between the two versions.
- 142 After a five day trip from their last stop in Crete (Sitia) to Paphos in Cyprus, the fleet should have arrived on 12th September. After a short sojourn in Paphos it set out, probably on 13th September, and reached Tripoli in Syria on 14th September, the feast of the Elevation of the Holy Cross. So it took the Arab fleet with its human cargo thirty-seven days after sailing from Thessaloniki on August 9th to reach its final port of call.
- 143 Cf. §2.
- 144 Cf. §1.
- 145 Cf. Romans 2.5
- 146 This tailpiece, added at some time by an unknown scribe, is found, according to Böhlig, in all the manuscripts. Cf. Böhlig, 1975, 138.

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